PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XX. TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

First Meeting, January 11th, 1898.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

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37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY

TO

DECEMBER, 1898.

VOL. XX. TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

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1898.

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PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.
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TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

First Meeting, 11*th January*, 1898.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

WALTER MORRISON, M.P., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of one of its oldest Members, MR. CHARLES HARRISON, M.P., F.S.A., etc., who died on Friday the 24th of December, 1897. He was a Member of the Council for many years, took the greatest interest in the Society, and gave every assistance in his power to secure its welfare.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Secretary of State for India in Council :—Archæological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXII. The Bower Manuscript. Parts III and VII. Edited by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph.D. Folio. Calcutta. 1897.

From the Rev. F. Vigoroux :—Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac (étude critique, texte et traduction). Par E. Amélineau. Paris. 8vo. 1890.

From the Publishers, Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode :—Abraham and his Age. By Henry George Tomkins (*Bible Students' Library*. Vol. VI). London. 8vo. 1897.

From the Author, Éd. Naville:—Les dernières lignes de la Stèle mentionnant les Israélites. Folio. Paris. 1897. (*Rec. de Travaux*. Vol. XX.)

From the Author, Rev. C. de Cara, S.J. :—Gli Hethei-Pelasgi in Italia. Gl' Italici nella Paletnologia Italiana. 8vo. (*Civilta Catt.* Serie XVI, Vol. XII. Dicembre, 1897.)

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting to be held on the 1st February, 1898 :—

Nils Sjoberg, Amanuensis at the Victoria Museum, Upsala.
Mrs. Lane, Dangstein, Petersfield.
Rev. Joseph Heyes, Beuel bei Bonn, Germany.
Walter Tomlinson, M.A., Ashley Gardens, Victoria Street, Westminster.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 7th December, 1897 :—

Admiral Selwyn, 186, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
John Tuckwell, 32, Sarre Road, West Hampstead, N.W.

The Secretary read a letter from Professor Sayce announcing that :—

> The royal tomb, discovered by M. de Morgan last spring at Negada, turns out to be that of King Menes himself.

Dr. Borchardt has just found his name on an engraved plaque of ivory disinterred from the tomb. On other objects only the *ka*-name Aḥa is met with. Among the objects found in the tomb are small vases of obsidian, turned on a lathe; the obsidian appears to have come from the Ægean, as the nearest source of it to Egypt is the island of Santorin, the ancient Thera. An ivory dog, also found in the tomb, is one of the finest specimens of Egyptian art that have come down to us. The body (or mummy) of the king was buried in the Babylonian fashion, but fragments of it are now in the Gizeh Museum. Three of the kings whose remains have been discovered at Abydos by M. Amélineau have been identified by Dr. Sethe with Usaphaes, Mielidos, and Semempses of the first dynasty.

The Rev. C. J. Ball read a Paper entitled, "Puzzles in Picture-Writing."

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Read, the Rev. C. J. Ball, and the Chairman.

The remarks made by Dr. Löwy will be included in a Paper to be read by him during the present session, probably at the April Meeting.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

The Secretary's Report was received, accepted, and ordered to be entered on the Minutes.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1897.

In commencing the annual Report I must again refer to the severe losses the Society has suffered by the death of some of its most distinguished members, whose places it will be difficult to fill. It has been my sad duty to-day to announce still another, that of one who has been a kind friend to the Society since its commencement.

The number on the Roll of Members has, however, been fairly retained, and it is a pleasure to thank those friends who have so kindly obtained the names of new members; there is still, however, much more that might be done, if a determined effort was made in this direction. There must be many who would be willing, if only they were asked, to help us to place a greater quantity of material, of a more varied character, in the hands of scholars and students. I have many times appealed to the whole body of members to assist the Society in this manner; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that it may not be overlooked.

The Twenty-seventh Session commenced in November, 1896, but the present volume, like its immediate predecessors, includes the *Proceedings* from January to December.

The papers read before the Society, and printed in this volume, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications. I am happy to be able to report that other papers dealing with Biblical and other subjects have been promised. The scheme of widening the operations of the Society, by obtaining a larger number of papers on Biblical topics, now under consideration by the Council, will enable them to arrange for papers more varied in subject, and it is hoped that the new effort will be received with satisfaction by the numerous friends of the Society. The various papers, many of them fully illustrated, printed in the present volume, are as follows, classed under their various divisions :—

SIR P. LE PAGE RENOUF:

The Book of the Dead, Chapters CXXIX and CXXX (February); Chapters CXXX to CXXXII (March); Chapters CXXXIII to CXXXV (April); Chapters CXXXVI A and B (May); Chapters CXXXVIIA to CXXXIX (June); The Lay of the Threshers (March); Young and Champollion (May).

MISS M. MURRAY :

The Stela of Duâ-er-neheh of the XVIIIth Dynasty, illustrated with a plate, showing the manner in which the characters were drawn by the Egyptian scribe (February).

PROF. DR. EISENLOHR :

The Rollin Papyri and their Baking Calculations (Part I, February ; Part II, March ; Part III, April ; Part IV, conclusion, June).

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A., and SIR P. LE PAGE RENOUF :

An Hypocephalus from Luxor, in the collection of Mr. Nash (April).

F. LL. GRIFFITH :

Scarabs belonging to Mr. John Ward, The Khyan Group of Kings, The Israel Stela, Additional Notes to Egyptian Literature (November).

F. LEGGE :

A Coptic Spell of the Second Century (May), and a further note on the same Spell (November).

W. E. CRUM :

A Coptic Palimpsest ; 1. Prayer of the Virgin in "Bartos" ; 2. Fragment of a Patriarchal History (May).

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE :

Assyriological Notes, No. II (February) ; Part III (November) ; Hæmatite Cylinder from Cappadocia (November).

PROFESSOR DR. HOMMEL :

Assyriological Notes (February).

REV. H. G. TOMKINS :

Khiana or Khâna (March).

THEO. G. PINCHES :

Two Archaic and three later Babylonian Tablets (April).

THE HON. MISS PLUNKET :

The Median Calendar and the Constellation Taurus, with a note by Mr. J. Offord, and an additional note by Miss Plunket (June).

ALFRED BOISSIER :

Note sur un linteau de porte découvert en Assyrie par George Smith (June).

PROFESSOR DR. JULES OPPERT :

The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Book of Kings, read at the November Meeting, and to be printed in a future part.

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Pre-Mosaic Palestine (January).

DR. M. GASTER :

Two Unknown Hebrew Versions of the Tobit Legend (January). The Hebrew Text appeared in March.

REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH :

More Fragments of the Palestinian Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures (January), the former parts of which were printed.

E. J. PILCHER:

The date of the Siloam Inscription (May).

MR. J. OFFORD:

Note on Miss Plunket's paper on the Median Calendar (June), as well as a short account of the Congress of Orientalists held in Paris during September (December).

The Book of the Dead was unhappily left incomplete on the death of our lamented President, Sir Peter Renouf. I am, however, happy to be able to report that it will not remain unfinished, as arrangements are now being made for its completion, Lady Renouf having very kindly placed all the notes left by Sir Peter at our disposal for that purpose. Although a little delay must, under the circumstances, necessarily arise, I hope that before long the Society will be able to commence the publication of the concluding chapters.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased. Many donations of books have also been made by various authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing their works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service, and others have been purchased by the Council, but it is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to make this department of the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made, by the presentation of some of the books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that those Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

We have to thank Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., President, who has so often generously given assistance, for a substantial addition to our funds, as also to other Members who have generously contributed. To Mr. E. J. Pilcher the Society has been indebted for the cost of the plates illustrating his paper.

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The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year, that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out that the subscriptions are due in advance in January. I need hardly point out that if subscriptions are not paid regularly, difficulty and trouble occurs as to the amount of money at the disposal of the Council.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1897 shows that the funds available for that year have been £820 16*s.* 5*d.*, and the expenditure for the same period has been £717 2*s.* 11*d.* The balance carried forward from 1896 was £65 19*s.* 2*d.*, and that from the year just ended £103 13*s.* 6*d.*

The Statement of Receipts and Expenditure was read by Mr. Christy, received, accepted and ordered to be entered on the Minutes. A vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. Offord, seconded by the Rev. C. J. Ball, and carried, was given to the Secretary for his efforts on behalf of the Society. Remarks being added by Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., and the Rev. Dr. Löwy.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Morrison, M.P., for having temporarily undertaken the office of President, and for having so kindly given every assistance to the Society, was proposed by Dr. Löwy, seconded by the Rev. C. J. Ball, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Thos. Christy, F.L.S., proposed, and the Rev. J. Marshall seconded, a vote of thanks to the Rev. R. Gwynne for his labours on behalf of the Society, which was carried unanimously.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

COUNCIL, 1898.

President.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., ETC., ETC.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., &c., &c.
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THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, D.C.L., &c.
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ALEXANDER PECKOVER, F.S.A.
REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.

Council.

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REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.
THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.
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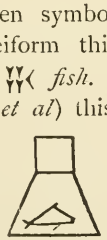
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BABYLONIAN HIEROGLYPHS.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A.,

EXAMINER FOR THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS, 1897.

There are people who still find a difficulty in admitting the pictorial origin of the cuneiform characters. For my own part, I am not only quite convinced of the truth of this opinion, in spite of the fact that many characters still await their pictorial explanation; I also believe, as I stated in these *Proceedings* for June, 1890, that the Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphic systems are both offshoots of the primitive system of Chaldea, now only represented by the so-called linear writing, from which the cuneiform script was gradually derived. As it is some time since I published anything directly bearing upon a question so important to investigators of the origin of writing, I trust that what I have now to add to former communications may excite some degree of interest in a Society which can boast of the pioneering efforts of that distinguished man the late Reverend William Houghton.

(1) I start with the written symbol denoting Nineveh and its tutelar goddess. In cuneiform this is  , which is a compound of  *house* and  *fish*. In the linear character (GUDEA B, Col. VIII, l. 51, *et al*) this ideogram or hieroglyph, as we may call it, appears thus  ; which is clearly the outline of a two-storied building, with a fish on the lower floor. With the determinative prefix  *city*, thus  , the character was read Ni-nu-a and Ni-na-a, *i.e.*, Nineveh. With the determinative of deity,  *god* or *goddess*, it denoted the tutelar divinity of the place, who was probably also called *Nînâ* (cf. *Aššur*, Ἀσσῶρος, as the tutelar god of the city

Aššur, and perhaps *Mardug* as a form of Urudug, Eridug, "The good seat" or settlement). In Sargon's Cylinder Inscription, l. 54, a goddess ŠA-UŠ-KA *rašibat Nînâ* KI, "Shaushka that overaweth Nineveh," is mentioned. And Dushratta of Mitanni seems to call Ishtar of Nineveh by this name: *see* WINCKLER'S transcript of the Berlin Tell el-Amarna texts, Plate 33, line 98, where I think we should read URU Nînu-â-pi DINGIR ŠA-U[Š-KA]-ši, "Shaushkash (*i.e.*, Ishtar) of Nineveh": *cf.* Pl. 30, line 84, DINGIR ŠA-UŠ-KAŠ; and for the identity of Ishtar and Shaushka, *cf.* the letter of Dushratta to Nimmuriya, No. 10 in the Brit. Mus. Collection, l. 13: *Ištar ša ali Nînâ*. Possibly, therefore, the ideogram was also read Shaushka, as the name of the goddess. However that may be, it is surely a fact of capital importance for a right estimate of the character of the Biblical book of Jonah that the name of the city to which the prophet was sent was expressed in writing, from the earliest period, by a combination of the symbols for *house* and *fish*. For this fact at once suggests that the three days' sojourn of Jonah in *the House of the Fish*, *i.e.*, in Nineveh, might be symbolized or Haggadically represented as a three days' abode in the bowels of a "Great Fish"; much as Israel's enforced sojourn in Babylon could be compared with being swallowed up by a dragon (Jer. li, 34). And, considering that the name יונה *dove* is peculiar for a prophet, and unique as a personal designation (2 Kings xiv, 25; Jonah i–iv only), and that the dove was sacred to the goddess Ishtar-Astarte, we may see another trace of mythical connection even in the prophet's name.

Now what is the precise meaning of the hieroglyph? Primitively, the goddess herself may have been conceived of as a great fish. Fish were sacred to her Syrian counterpart Atergatis (*i.e.* Ishtar-Atys), and were kept in the temple-ponds at Edessa, Hierapolis, and Ascalon (*See* ROBERTSON-SMITH, *Rel. Sem.*). The beautiful classical myth of Aphrodite rising out of the sea will occur to everyone. But the fish might also denote multitudinous offspring, prolific numbers, especially in connection with the symbol for house (family, and also *settlement*, territory; *cf.* the use of בית *bîtu*, in the names בית תגרמה, *Bît Ammâna*, *Bît Ḫumria*, Beth-Garmai, etc.); in fact, 𒀭𒀭 is explained by the Assyrian *kubuttû*, "muchness," "multitude," as well as by *nûnu*, "fish." And *house+fish*, *i.e.*, House of Multitudes, would be a good name for Nineveh, "The Great City" (Gen. x, 12), which was especially great in population (Jonah iii, 3; iv, 11); while the same hieroglyph

would aptly suggest the goddess Nînâ, as the source of its teeming numbers, and a birth-goddess, like Gula-Mylitta. The name *Nînâ* may thus be really akin to the obscure Hebrew *nîn*, "offspring" נין ונכד (Gen. xxi, 23), and to the verb ינון in Ps. lxxii, 17 (*Qeri*). To the same root may be traced *nûnu*, נונא, "fish," strictly "the teeming" or "multiplying." And, further, according to familiar interchanges of sound, נוב or נוב, "fruit" (Mal. i, 12; Isa. lvii, 19), may be akin to נין; for N–B = N–M = N–N: and yet another form of the same root may be recognized in the Sumerian LUM, "to sprout," "bud," "bear fruit," LAM *id.*, SU.LUM (), Assyr. *suluppu* (as if from SU.LUB) "date." Other connections seem to be NUN, "great," NIM, "high," E–NIM ("height"), "heaven," E–LAM, "highland," "Elam"; the ground-notion in all being that of *shooting forth and upward*, *growing up*, and so becoming and being *tall* or high. And bearing in mind the established interchange of N and š in Sumerian, we may may see reason for connecting the Semitic  *šamû*, שמים, "heaven," with a neo-Sumerian ŠAM = NAM = NIM; so that in Hebrew as in other languages *heaven* is the height above (*cf.* מרום. In Tibetan *nam* is "heaven.")*

(2) The character  NIM, linear  , has already become so conventionalized in the oldest inscriptions (*circa* B.C. 4000), that its pictorial significance is not easy to recognize. The original linear figure may have suggested a man holding up his arms; *cf.* the Egyptian  *qa*, "height." At all events, the existing linear character closely resembles the linear forms of  "male," "man," "servant;" *see* AMIAUD–MÉCHINEAU, *Tableau Comparé*, Nos. 7 and 8. Possibly, however, the figure represents a throne with-

* The debt of the Semitic to the primitive Sumerian language is far greater than is generally recognized. It is impossible to look at a word like DUG and its younger form ZIB, "good," without seeing a relationship between it and *ṭâbu*, the Assyrian term which explains it (Heb. טוב, Aram. טב). The obscure Heb. טוטפת *ṭôṭaphôth*, φυλακτήρια ("frontlets": Exod. xiii, 16), similarly goes back to the Sumerian  DIB.DIB (from DAB.DAB), "to bind" (*kamû*, *kasû*). The Arabic حوت *ḥû-t*, "fish," may be compared with the Sumerian  ḪA, KU (from GU), "fish." The words תמר, תמר, תמר, the palm and its fruit, are akin to GI-SHIMMAR, "*shimmar*-tree," "palm."

out a back, such as the two gods (Sun and Moon) occupy in the seal here shown; just as the character  "lord," "high," "heaven," was "lord," "high," "heaven," was once the picture of a high-backed throne, such as gods and kings sometimes occupy in the seal-engravings and wall-sculptures: *cf.* the linear form



 with the throne ot the Moon-god in the annexed seal, and with that of Sennacherib in the well-known scene of the king sitting in state and receiving the spoils of Lachish.



(3) The character  MUD, explained *alâdu*, which means both "to beget" and "to bear," and *banû ša alâdi*, "to produce, in the sense of begetting (or bearing)," has long been a puzzle to me. The cuneiform preserves the original elements, viz.:  *bird* and  *knee*, as is clear from the linear  , and from the name of the character invented by the Semitic Babylonian *literati*, viz: Mušendugû, *i.e.*, "Bird-knee," or "Bird-on-knee"; a designation quite parallel to those given by Chinese scholars to some of their own ideograms. The solution of the puzzle lies in the fact that HU, or ĞU, originally represented the young or unfledged bird, the  *u* of the Egyptian script. The young bird symbolizes a child, and the child on the knee is a modest symbol of generation and parturition, or of parentage generally. This association of the knees with birth illustrates several passages of the Old Testament. "Why," asks Job, "did the knees receive me?" (iii, 12); *cf.* also Gen. xxx, 3; l, 23. And it will be remembered that the Roman father signified his adoption of his newborn offspring, by receiving it on his knees. That in course of time should have come to be used to signify *bird* (*iṣṣuru*) in general, is not surprising, considering the vagueness of the linear characters.

(4) Having found the clue to the ideogram , I was also enabled to explain the curious SA, which is defined in

Assyrian by *nabû*, "to name." This hieroglyph is composed of 𒀭, *young bird*, *nestling*, and 𒁀, *bed* (*see* AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, Nos. 25 and 261). We know from Genesis (xxix, 32–35; xxx, 6–13, 18–24; xxxv, 18) that the mother, or the midwife (xxxviii, 27–30), commonly named a child at its birth. The picture of a *nestling* in *bed*, therefore, was used by the old Babylonian inventors of writing to suggest the notion of *naming*, by a very natural association of ideas.

(5) The more important of the linear forms of 𒀭𒌑 DI, RI, etc., is also a bird-character. We see at once that  is simply the linear form of 𒀭, modified by the addition of a second cross line at the top, which also appears in the linear forms of 𒀭𒌑𒁲 NAM, SIM, a third bird-character (AMIAUD–MÉCHINEAU, No. 28). What does this modification stand for? It must be remembered that the difficulty of ascertaining the precise objects represented by the linear characters, is mainly due to the conventional form which they have already assumed in the course of centuries of use; for at the date of the Semitic king Sargon I. of Accad, B.C. 3800, the writing was already ancient. Bearing this in mind, the suggestion may be hazarded that the double cross-lines represent *the open beak* of the bird; a suggestion which will at least illustrate the use of the character for the expression of the ideas of taking, seizing, carrying off, etc. (*laqâṭu*, *liqû*, *šalâlu*). Whatever change in the original picture may thus obscurely survive in the outline character, it is enough for our purpose that that original picture was the figure of some kind of bird, in some particular attitude or posture. This fact, as will be seen, accounts for most of the uses of the character. Thus 𒀭𒌑 had the senses of flying, flying away, putting to flight, winged (*parâšu* in various stems; *muttapriš̃u*, of birds and locusts). These meanings were immediately suggested by the picture. Further, the use of the same hieroglyph to express the ideas of light breaking forth, the rising and shining of the sun and stars (𒀭𒌑 = *nabâṭu*, *šarûru*), depends on the common mythical conception of the Dawn as a bird shooting up into the sky. Eos and Aurora are winged or white-winged in the classical poets; and the same idea is present in the metaphor of Ps. cxxxix, 9: "the wings of the Morning" (כנפי שחר). The "Sun of Righteousness," too, has "wings," *i.e.*, oblique side-beams (Mal. iv, 2). In 𒀭𒌑, "to

brighten," "purify" (*ullulu*), we have an extension of the same use; and if *êru ša šitti*, *êru ša êni*, really mean "waking from sleep," "waking, said of the eye," respectively, this sense of 𒀭𒀀𒂍 is plainly connected with that of light (*cf.* Ps. xiii, 3: "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not," etc., האירה עיני וגו׳).

Again, the favourite image of the bird sheltering and protecting its young ones, appears in 𒀭𒀀𒂍, "to protect," "support," "help" (*ḫaṭânu*, *nararûtu*). *Cf.* Exod. xix, 4: "I bare you on eagles' wings"; Deut. xxxii, 11; Ps. xvii, 8: "Hide me under the shadow of thy wings"; Ps. xxxvi, 7: "The sons of man take refuge under the shadow of thy wings;" Isa. xxxi, 5: "As birds flying," etc. See also Exod. xxv, 20 (the protecting wings of the cherubim over the Ark). Here also the hieroglyph immediately suggests its proper meaning in a suitable context.

But 𒀭𒀀𒂍 also denotes "a gust, blast, or gale" of wind (*zîqu*), "a breeze" (as in the expression *bâb zîqi*), and "to blow," "to blow upon, through, or into" (*zâqu*); and it enters into the compound ideogram 𒀭𒀀𒂍 𒀀𒀀 𒀭𒌑𒅆, which is explained by various Assyrian terms denoting storms, hurricanes, and associated phenomena (BRÜNNOW, 2611—2619). Now winds, especially storm-winds, are conceived in many mythologies as gigantic birds, which swoop down on their prey and carry it off in beak and talons, like the Homeric Harpies (Ἅρπυιαι; cf. ἁρπάζω, to snatch, seize, carry off. From the same root APH comes ὄρπη, a bird of prey, perhaps the Egyptian kite; and considering that RI, DI, are values of 𒀭𒀀𒂍, and that DIB, of which RIB is a natural variant, means *to seize*, we may not be wrong in supposing an ultimate connexion of the Aryan root *arp* with these Sumerian roots). The Storm-bird, Assyrian *Zû*, a term which DELITSCH compares with זוע, זוּעָא, etc., probably got his name from ZU = TU, "the wind" (*šâru*). In fact, the linear form of 𒌓 TU, the ordinary character for "wind," viz.,  , may originally have figured a bird of prey in full flight, rather than a mast and sail, like the Egyptian  *nef*, with which some have compared it. At all events, it is a remarkable fact that the Sumerian symbol agrees with the old Chinese form of 隹 *chui*, birds, *tsui*, wind, gale, viz.,  . (As this Chinese character is dialectically pronounced *twi*  and *tsü*, it

is perfectly clear that we have here an agreement in symbol, sound, and sense, which cannot be fortuitous, and which those who maintain the Semitic origin of the Babylonian characters and their sounds may be left to account for as they can.) In the Bible also we have traces of this old conception of the wind as a bird, *e.g.*, Hosea, iv, 19: "The wind hath bound her up (?) in its wings"; Ps. xviii, 10: "He rode on the Cherub (כרוב). . . He did fly on the wings of the wind," where the Cherub or Storm-bird is clearly the wind, as the parallelism indicates.

The ideas of taking or lifting up, seizing, carrying off (*našû*, *laqâṭu*, *laqû* or *liqû*), bringing (*abâlu*), removing to a distance (*nisû*), sweeping away (*ṣabâru*), taking as booty or spoil (*šalâlu*), which all belong to 𒀭𒁹, and are more or less clearly associated with one another, are symbolized suitably enough by the picture of a bird; *cf.* Isa. xlvi, 11, "calling a ravenous bird from the east" (*i.e.*, to spoil Babylon); Eccl. x, 20, "The birds of the air will carry (יוליך) the voice."

There are also uses of the ideogram which apparently have no reference to its pictorial value, but only to the *sounds* associated with it; *i.e.*, they are instances of what is called in Chinese a "Phonetic" application of the character. This may be the case with 𒀭𒁹 sheep (*ṣênu*), which, if read DI, may be a form of DIB, UDU, which have the same sense.

I cannot at present explain the other linear form of 𒀭𒁹 (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 266), unless it be, as is possible, a mere variant of the one already discussed. An original difference is hardly necessary to account for the recorded uses of the character; *e.g.*, Ishtar might be called 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒁹, as symbolized by a particular bird, or as a goddess of light, etc. And the meanings, to throw, shoot, cast, put, lay (*nadû*, *ramû*), are perhaps explicable in connection with the bird-symbol. The notions of *shooting* and *flying* are not far apart; we may say, "The bird shot upward," "The arrow flew," or *vice versa*; meaning in both instances rapid motion through the air. The idea of *settling upon or in* a particular place (*ramû*) may be connected with that of a bird alighting or dropping on the ground, or settling in a tree after flight.* At all events, the character 𒄑 (originally a picture of the leg and foot), whose

* *Šalummatu ramû* may express "*shooting forth* radiance," rather than "with splendour *clad*."

sounds, DU, RA, ŠA, seem to bear some relation to those of 𒁀 (DI, RI, ŠA), combines the ideas of motion and (subsequent) rest in meanings like *alâku*, *abâlu*, *kânu*, *šakânu*, *nazâzu*.

(6) The bird-character 𒁀 NAM is clearly revealed as such by its linear form  (AMIAUD–MÉCHINEAU, No. 28), which appears to be flying with outspread wings; although here again, as in the case of the other two bird-symbols, we cannot be quite sure of the pictorial intention, owing to the rudeness and vagueness of the indications. NAM denotes *fate*, *destiny*, strictly, a *decree* or *appointment* of Heaven (*šimtu*, *piristu*), with which may be connected the meaning, *government*, *pashalik* (*piḫâtu*; from *piḫû*, to steer, gubernare), in the sense of *an appointment* by the king, as also that of *punishment* (*annu*, *arnu*, sin and penalty, like חֻטְּאָ) as decreed and imposed by authority. Read SIM (from ŠIM = NIM = NAM?) the character is explained by *šaḫâlu*, to name, call, appoint, ordain, a synonym of *nabû*. All these meanings of the hieroglyph evidently hang together, for "fate" is only the *word*, appointment, or ordinance of the gods (*cf.* Lat. *fatum*, from *fari*, to speak. There may also be a reference in the Sumerian symbol to augury or divination by the flight of birds). NAM is therefore closely related to I-NIM, which we see in the expression INIM INIM, "word," "command," "spell" (*amâtu*, *šiptu*); a spell, being merely a spoken or muttered formula.

But why was the swallow—*sinuntu*, סנונית—called the NAM (or SIM) bird? I think because of its twittering or "chattering": *cf.*, "As a swallow or a crane, so did I chatter" (Isa xxxviii, 14). In Chinese, *yen yu*, "swallow-talk," means the chatter of women; and *nam* means "gabble," "twittering of swallows," and "muttering incantations."

The Sumerian NAM seems to be further used in the sense of rejoicing (*ḫadû*, *rišû*?). If the restoration of the Assyrian terms be correct (see BRÜNNOW, Nos. 2096 *sq.*), the idea may have been associated with the cheerful noise of the swallows under the roof-beams. So in Chinese, *yen* (Annamite *nyön*), "swallow," is also "to feast," "be pleased," "pleasant," etc.

Finally, the use of NAM as a negative particle (= *lâ*, "not") is exactly parallel to the Chinese negative 不 *pŭt*, *pu*, "not," which is said to represent a swallow or other bird flying away heavenward, and 非 *fi*, "not," which is a figure of wings outspread.

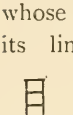
(7) The pictorial significance of the character 𒅆 IŠI or ISI to weep (*bakû*) is at first sight as obscure as that of the synonymous 𒀭 𒁹 or 𒀭𒁹 ISIŠ (*nissatu*, *ṣiḫtu*, *bakû*, *dimtu*, *bikîtu*, etc.), is obvious. The latter, being composed of 𒀭 *water* and 𒁹 *eye*, needs no recourse to the linear writing for its explanation. The linear or archaic figure of 𒅆 is  and similar forms, in the inscriptions of Ur-Bau of Ur (*circa.* 2700 B.C.) and Gudea of Sirgulla. This curious character appears to me to be a compound of 𒀀 *eye* and  intended to represent *flowing tears*. It therefore originally pictured the weeping eye, and may be compared both with 𒀭𒁹 and with the Egyptian  to weep.

The same symbol 𒅆 was also read SA.ĜAR, dust, dirt (*ipru*, *epiru*, *turbu'tu*—not *turpu'tu*, as DELITZSCH, *H.W.B.*, p. 714; *cf.* Arab. تُرْب, تُرْبَة, تُرَاب, dust). This may have been because dust in the eye causes tears, or because dust was thrown on the head and face by mourners; and also because ISI or IŠI was another term for *dust*. The word SA.ĜAR is apparently composed of two synonyms, corresponding to the Chinese *sha*, *sa*, sand, and *ngai*, dust; *cf.* the saying, "Fan fêng k'i êr yang *sha*, kiai yueh *ngai*," "When the wind raises and spreads *sand*, it is called *dust*." IŠI, hill, mound (*šadû*), is dust or dirt heaped up.

(8) If the four perpendicular lines of the last hieroglyph represent running water, we can explain  the linear form of 𒂍𒀭 E or E.KU, ditch, canal, as a picture of a canal, with a sluice represented by the straight line crossing it (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 119).

(9) From the ideogram for *canal* is evidently derived one of the linear forms of 𒂍𒀭𒀭, viz.,  which denotes "the land," "the country" (*mâtu*), and which the linear figure demonstrates to be composed of 𒂍𒀭 𒈾𒀭𒀭𒀭 *canal*+*great* or *many*; so that it means *many canals* or *having many canals*—a characteristic description of Babylonia. The other

linear figure  , that is, in cuneiform, 𒂗𒈾 𒂗𒈾 *house* + *many*, *households*, is an equally good hieroglyph for "the people," "mankind" (*nîšu*).

(10) The character 𒄑𒄑𒅆 ŠIM, used of fragrant woods and plants—as when Sargon speaks of "*urkarin*, cedar, and cypress, all *growths* (*riqqê* = ŠIM) yielded by Mt. Amanus, whose scent is sweet"—may also be explained by reference to its linear form  . This evidently consists of the *cup*, 𒄑 linear  , which by itself is the symbol for strong drink (*šikaru*), and a form of the *dust* and *tears* character. Our hieroglyph, therefore, is *cup* + (aromatic) *dust* or *tears*; and we may think of the tears or fragrant gums and resins which exude from certain plants, and which, when compounded, constitute incense (*cf.* Exod. xxx, 34, *sq.*). Fragrant woods and herbs, as well as incense proper, were used in the Babylonian temples; and the *amêlu rab rikki* (= *riqqî*), or "Master of the Sweet Perfumes," was doubtless an official analogous to the priestly "apothecary" of Exod. xxx, 35, who, according to the Rabbis, lived in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The symbol is also read SIRIS, the name of a goddess. As 𒄑 is used in Assyrian with the values *ras* and *rak* (presupposing Sumerian values RAS, RAG), and as 𒄑𒅆 is (I)SI, it seems clear that the compound character, in this application, was originally read RAS . SI (or with vowel-harmony RIS . SI), and afterwards came to be read SI . RIS, just as GAL . LU came to be read LU . GAL. This (and other evidence) goes against the common assumption that RIG (from RAG), the second value of 𒄑𒄑𒅆, is of Semitic origin. It was probably an old Sumerian synonym of ŠIM, meaning *fragrant* thing; and from it sprang not only the Assyrian *riqqê*, "fragrant plants," but also the Hebrew and Phœnician רקח (Exod. xxx, 35, etc.).

The *siraš* or *sêraš* which Nebuchadnezzar lavished in libations to his gods, was probably a *spiced* wine. The Chinese apply the term *hsiang*, "incense," to the aroma of wine, and to fragrant woods such as cedar or cypress; much as the Sumerian hieroglyph is an element in (GIŠ) . ŠIM . LI, pine, and (GIŠ) . ŠIM . DUBRAN juniper (Syriac *daphrānā*). So far as ŠIM is simply *plants*, *herbs*, etc., it may be related to 𒂗𒅆 ŠAM, and the Egyptian *sam*, vegetables, and the Chinese *sung*, cabbage; so far as it connotes *fragrance*, it seems akin

to IR . SIM, fragrance ; *cf.* Chinese *hsing*, to be fragrant ; *hsin*, to snuff the fragrance of offerings (said of Shang-ti, as IR . SIM I . GUBBI is said of the gods in Sumerian) ; *hsiang*, incense.

(11) The commonest meaning of 𒀭 SUN, SUM, SIG, SI, is *to give, present, make an offering*, etc. (*nadânu* = נתן). The other uses are, for the most part, easily deducible from this one, which might therefore be regarded as the original sense of the symbol. The linear figure, however, is  , which is evidently intended to represent a pile of plants of some kind, no doubt laid on an altar or table as an offering to a god. Now 𒀭 𒄑 (SUN . MU or SUM . MU or SUM . MA) means *šûmu*, שום (Num. xi, 5), the Chinese *sün*, *swan*, garlick, which was not only much used by the Egyptians as an article of diet, but along with its kindred the onion, offered in piles to the gods (see the illustrations in WILKINSON'S *Ancient Egyptians*). It would seem, then, as the Sumerian hieroglyph does not depict the plants upright, *i.e.*, as growing, but lying horizontally one upon the other, the suggestion is *a heap of garlick or alliaceous plants ;* and as the most usual sense of the hieroglyph is *to give or present*, we may conclude that the custom of offering onions and garlick on tables of offerings to the gods existed in Shinar before it was practised in Egypt.

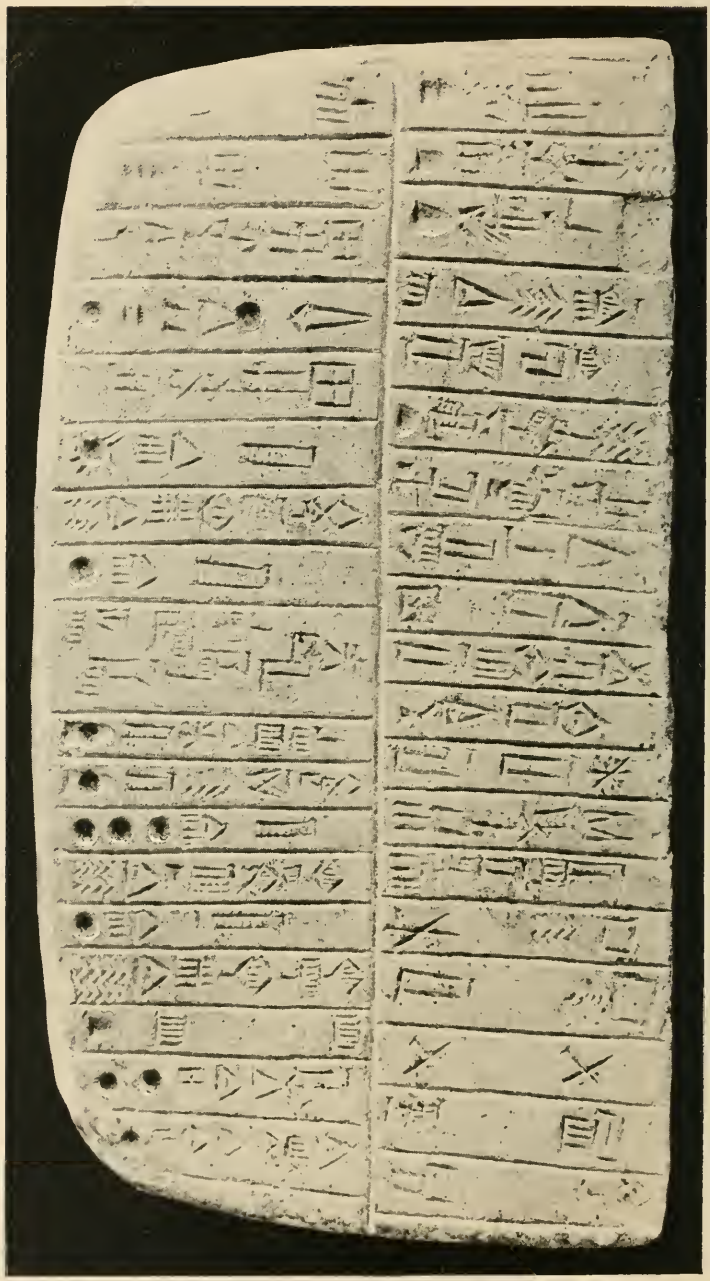
(12) The Sumerian expression 𒀀 𒀸 A . DAM (or A . LAM) is compounded of 𒀀 *hand, side*, and 𒀸 *spouse, husband, wife.* "Side-spouse" naturally denotes all creatures which exist in pairs, or as male and female ; and 𒀀 𒀸 is, in fact, used of the entire animal creation, both brute and human. The literal meaning of this very old Sumerian expression seems to explain the story of the origin of woman from "the side" of man (Gen. ii, 21), and also to account for the curious statement, "called *their* name Adam" (Gen. v, 2).

The Assyrian equivalent, *namaššû*, seems to mean *things that move* or *creep about*, being derived from a root, *namâšu*, which looks like a cognate form of the Hebrew רמש *ramas*, to creep (Gen. i, 21, *sqq.*).

The limestone tablet, of which phototypes are here presented, was found on the site of the temple of the Sun-god at *Abû Habbah*, the ancient Sippara. It seems to be part of an old temple-register,

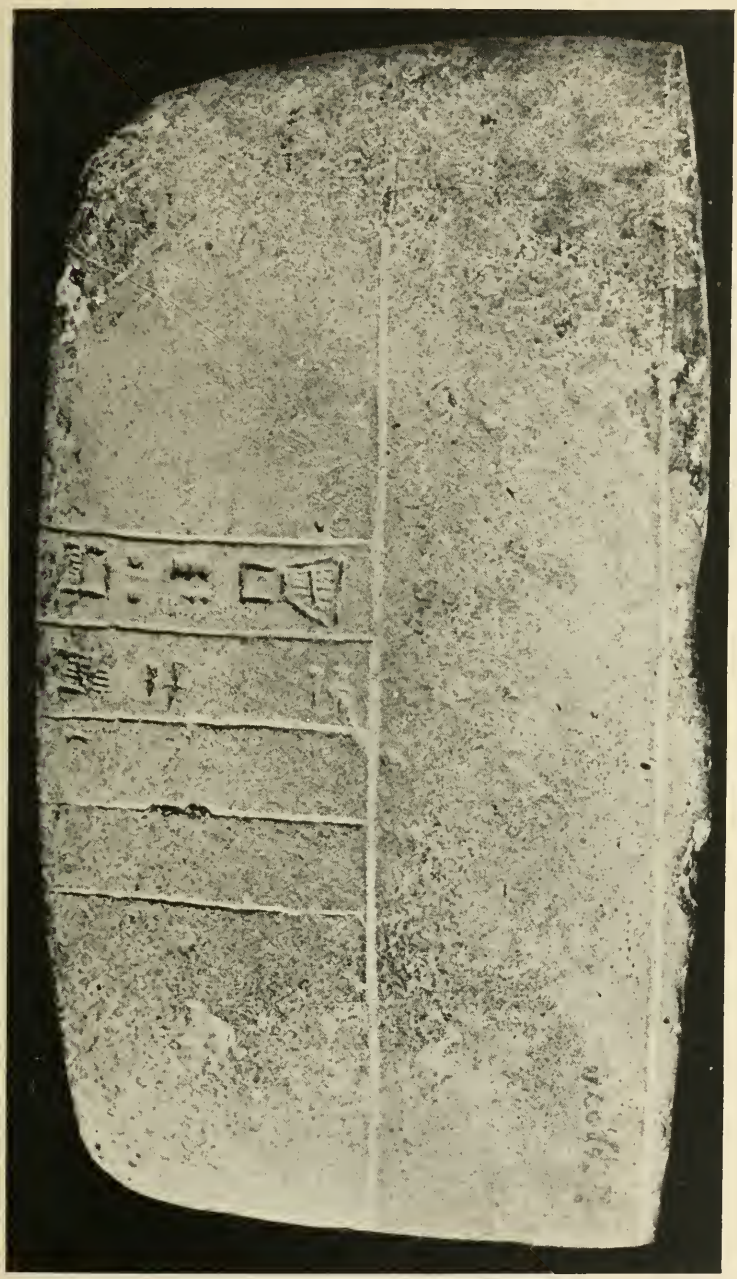
not only giving an account of the flocks and herds and other property of the sanctuary, but also briefly chronicling events of interest affecting the sacred lands. This document is added here as affording an excellent illustration of the linear mode of writing. It presents some forms apparently older than those used by Gudea; *e.g.*, that of IB in col. 2, line 13. As a Sumerian word, IB means "anger," "to be angry"; and the linear symbol depicts *the back*, with well-marked vertebræ (*cf.* the linear form of EGIR, "back," AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 73, with this one = their No. 72). Turning the back on any one is a natural sign of displeasure. In Chinese, the character for *back* is also used for *to turn the back on*, *to oppose*, *dislike*, etc.

PLATE I.



AN INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET FROM SIPPARA. OBVERSE.

In the possession of the Rev. C. J. Ball.

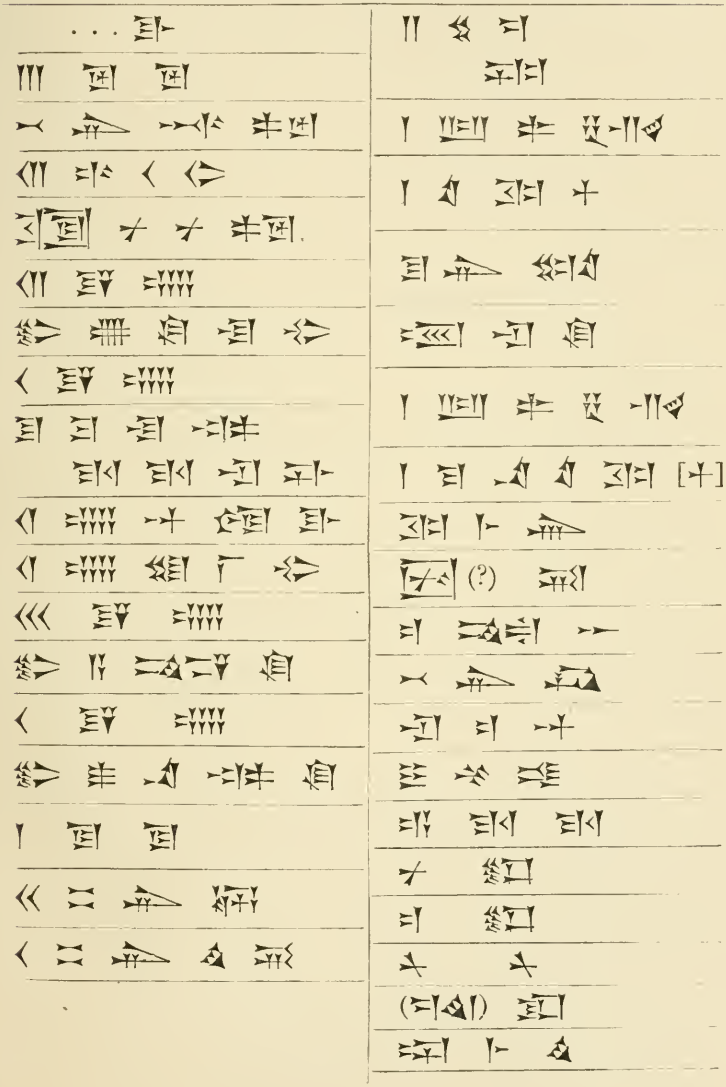


INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET FROM SIPPARA. REVERSE.

AN INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET (6 in. × 3¼ in. × 2 in.) FROM SIPPARA *(ABÚ HABBAH).*

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL.

Transcription into neo-Babylonian Characters.



TRANSCRIPTION IN ROMAN LETTERS, AND TRANSLATION.

This venerable relic of the remote past is here transcribed and translated for the first time, and therefore with all reserve. The capital letters mark Sumerian words, the small type Semitic Babylonian words and terminations, the occurrence of which here and there proves the text to be of Semitic origin.

COL. I.

(. . . .) GAL
Grand (Account ?).

III DIB DIB
Three sheep

be-li BAL SIB
To the Lord the shepherds sacrificed.

XII GUD X LID
Twelve bullocks ten heifers

SUB NU-NU SIB
The shepherds lived on (their) flesh.

XII BUR NIR
Twelve bull calves

in u-di-la-tim
In the stalls.

X BUR NIR
Ten bull calves

SHU-BALAG
DA DA GISHGAL (?) MAR
Were sacrificed on the south and west borders.

XI NIR DINGIR NIN-GAL
Eleven bull (calves) to Ningal.

XI NIR TU-LAL-tim
XI *bull (calves) for breeding.*

XXX BUR NIR
Thirty bull calves

COL. II.

II SHE-GISH SAG
Two (crops ?) of best sesame.

I ṬU-PI GUSH-GIN
One ṭu-pi of gold;

I ZA-BAR
One of bronze,

SHU-ZALLI
Burnished.

UNU-URU-KI
At Erech (?)

I ṬU-PI GUSH-GIN
One ṭu-pi of gold:

I MA-NA ZA-(BAR)
One maneh of bronze,

ka-me-ir
Dark-hued

KUNIN TA
As pitch.

GISH-GI ĞAL
The swamp overflowed

be-li GÙ
The Lord's domain;

UR GISH AN
Together trees and corn

i-mu-tum
Died.

COL. I—*contd.*

in A-IDINNA-KI
At Nod (?).

X BUR NIR
Ten bull calves

in ASH-NA-AK-KI
At Ashnak.

I DUR-DUR
One boar.

XX BI-NI DUN
Twenty fat porkers.

X BI-NI DUGGA
Ten fine hogs.

COL. II—*contd.*

E DA DA
With ditches on the borders

NU-SHAR
The gardeners

GISH-SHAR
The garden

DIM DIM
Enclosed;

DÀRRA
Vegetation

UM-ME-SHÁR
Became plenteous.

On the reverse of the tablet four lines are ruled, but only two filled up. They are inscribed:—

SHU-NIGIN XXV UNU
Total: twenty-five dwellings.

GUN—A—A
Gunaa (*i.e.*, probably the scribe's name).

The third line exhibits a single arrow, the beginning of a character left unfinished. The tablet has evidently been broken in half, perhaps by those who found it. The publication of the part we possess may lead to the identification of the other portion, a result much to be desired.

NOTES.—Line 7. The transcription  rather than  was suggested by Mr. Pinches. Line 9. Professor Hommel transcribed DA DA URU ḲA-ME (?), which would mean *on the borders of the city of Kame.* Line 30. I have supposed that  is phonetic writing for  . Otherwise the sense would be: *The city's trees* (and) *corn*, which would be less suitable.

NOLI ME TANGERE.

A Mathematical Demonstration of the Exactness of Biblical Chronology.

BY PROFESSOR DR JULIUS OPPERT.

[*Read 7th December*, 1897.]

It is sometimes useful to reconsider our opinions, with a view to rejecting them if they are recognized as erroneous, but maintaining them when they cannot be modified. Such is the case in regard to the *Chronology of the Bible*, from the Exodus onwards, and especially in regard to that of the kings of Judah and Israel. It has become a sort of fashion to look at the statements of the Books of Kings and Chronicles as quite inexact, ever since the lists of the Assyrian Eponyms were discovered.

I protested against this uncritical proceeding thirty years ago, and I still hold firmly to my former opinion. In the present state of Assyriological science, we are enabled to show that the Books of Kings are the real basis of our historical knowledge of the subject, and that the pretended cuneiform chronology must bow to the mathematical correctness of the Holy Scriptures.

I have never asserted that the contemporary Assyrian statements are erroneous. On the contrary, they are to be considered as the most precious of all external documents which have been handed down to us; but they have been misunderstood by almost all Assyriological specialists. Soundly interpreted, they plainly agree with the Bible. Chronology is neither a philological nor a theological science, but a mathematical one. It would not occur to any mathematician to change a *plus* into a *minus* sign, merely because it would better suit him, nor to modify a figure or an exponential power into something which might be more convenient to his purpose; he maintains the figures and the algebraic terms as they result from his arithmetical operations, even if they seem to be obstinately unaccommodating. But philologists with light-hearted frivolity falsify traditional numbers; they augment or they diminish the figures according to the quantity they need; and when these

experiments lead to a satisfactory result, they proclaim it as a marvel if *a* plus *b* minus *b* amount exactly to *a*, or *b* minus *a* plus *a* yield actually the desiderated *b*. This is, in fact, the only principle of all so-called chronologists. But, on the other side, if you take forty of these Scaligers or Idelers, you will find that each of them has his own *private* system of rectified chronology, which is rejected by the other thirty-nine.

The only way for an historian to get his opinion accepted, is to follow the tradition strictly and rigorously; not to believe that he knows anything better than the documents; and, above all, not to modify any figure, unless it be in direct and flagrant contradiction with another authentic text.

In 1862, Hincks discovered the fragments of the Eponym List of the Assyrian empire, which contained about two hundred and sixty names. This list was afterwards completed by Sir Henry Rawlinson and other scholars. No internal indication whatever guided the interpreters of the cuneiform text. The well-known annual list, with short statements on the principal events of the archon's year, presented no explanatory heading or introduction: nothing at all instructs the reader as to what is the real meaning of the long succession of proper names. Not a single word gives any information why the tablet was written; and a contemptuous silence compels the reader to guess the sense by his own sagacity.

But a very important hint is given by a single line. In the year of *Assur-edil-el*, a solar eclipse is mentioned as having taken place at the end of Sivan. Some scholars at once identified this celestial phenomenon with the total eclipse of June 15, 763 B.C., which was very considerable at Nineveh and throughout Assyria. But as there existed some synchronous Assyrian statements concerning the kings of Israel, Ahab, Jehu and Menahem, and Ahaz of Judah, Hincks already pointed out the utter impossibility of establishing a sound chronology, without admitting a large gap in this list of archons which he had himself discovered. As Ahab and Jehu were mentioned in the Obelisk king's documents, and Ahaz, in conformity with the Bible, under Tiglathpileser, one hundred and twenty years only would have elapsed between the two historical facts; while the Biblical records required an interval of half a century more. No concession whatever could enable any chronologist, even the least conscientious one, to cut out of the biblical figures fifty years. Nevertheless, since that time the gap has not been admitted

by the bulk of so-called chronologists, who frankly declare that "nothing can be made of the Book of the Kings." This is, to say the least, the most convenient way of getting rid of a difficulty, the origin of which is due to the false interpretation of Assyrian texts.

I.—The Assyrian Texts.

A. Since 1866, I have been aware that the phenomenon of the end of Sivan in the eponymy of *Esid-sēti-iqbi* (written with ideographic characters *Bur-an-ša-gal-ē*), is not the total eclipse of June 15, 763 B.C., but that of June 13, 809 B.C. Neither of these solar eclipses was total in Mesopotamia. The obscuration was of $\frac{11}{12}$th in 763, of $\frac{9}{12}$th (digits) in 809. Both were considerable enough to produce a great impression upon the population. But neglecting for a moment the Biblical events, and putting aside all extra-Assyrian considerations, I saw immediately that the cuneiform texts themselves were opposed to the choice of 763. The monolith of Assur-naṣir-abal, the great and fierce *Nimrûd*-king, whose slabs and inscriptions had been discovered by Layard, contained a passage of a decisive character. The king states that his accession to the throne coincided with a solar eclipse, which, of course, the astrologers prudently explained as a propitious portent. The text runs:—

Ina surrat sarrûtiya ina maḫri paliya Samas dayan kibrāti ṣalul-lašu ṭāba eliya iškun-va ina kuśśi rabiš ušib.

"In the beginning of my royalty, in the year of my accession, the god Samas (the Sun), the judge of celestial regions, made an eclipse propitious to me, and mightily I sat on my throne."

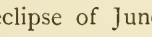
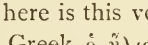
This is the true sense of this most important text; nobody would venture to look for a different interpretation, if the passage were not so important and so peremptory. All other attempts at translation are childish and absurd. Nobody now will be bold enough to attack the correctness of this interpretation, which we shall establish by a philological demonstration.

Our conclusions from the passage are the following:—

Assur-naṣir-abal was king at the commencement of the Eponymy of Assur Šezibanni, and this archon is the 121st before the Eponym of the eclipse mentioned in the Canon. Now 763+121 gives 884, but in 884 B.C. no eclipse took place. In 930 B.C., however (that is, 809 + 121, or 9,071, after my myriadic computation), the sun

was eclipsed on June 2 (Julian reckoning = May 24, Gregorian); and Dr. de Herdtl fixes the maximum at Nineveh at 5·3, nearly the half of the sun's disk, and the time of the maximum at 5 o'clock p.m. The sun set in full glory, which was a good omen. The eclipse had been total in the east of east over the South Sea, Mexico, the United States, the Atlantic, and middle Europe to Turkestan.

This is the phenomenon to which the Assyrian king alludes in the passage cited.

We may add some philological remarks concerning the word *ṣalullu*, "obscuration," which is represented by an ideogram, the sense of which is "want,"  . The meaning of the character is *anāḫu*, "to be deficient," "to cease"; this word is employed by Sardanapalus (*cf.* B., R. III, 32), when he mentions the eclipse of June 27, 661 B.C., of which he says: "In the evening the sun, master of the Light, was wanting;" and the term employed here is this very *usteniḫ*. This phase is exactly equivalent to the Greek ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπεν, the Latin *sol defecit*; and ἔκλειψις is not "obscuration," the Greek ἀμαύρωσις, but *defectus* (=the Assyrian *manaḫtu*, which is the corresponding term, expressed by the compounds of the same sign). The ideogram is equivalent to  , which is the ordinary expression for "eclipse;" in Assyrian *atalū* or *attalū*, explained, R. II, 48, by the Sumerian  , *anta-lū*, "obscuration in the sky."

The philological demonstration of the real sense of *ṣalullu*, ἀμαυρωσις*, *manaḫtu*, ἔκλειψις, *defectus*, *atalū*, "darkness," is clearly established.

The notion of astrological explanation of the eclipses is expressed by the verb *tarāṣu*, "to explain," the Chaldæan and Rabbinic תרא, and occurs very often, found in the indicated sense. So in the account of the lunar eclipse of 232 of the Seleucid era, 13th Nisan, or April 11, 80 B.C.; in Strassmaier, Ars., No. 11, we read, ša *uttarriṣ Uruda Šarru*, "which explained, or predicted, the king Orodes." Moreover, Sardanapalus (R.V., 10, 63 ss.) expresses himself very clearly on this subject, alluding to his protecting divinities:

* *Cf.* Herodotus (IX, 10), ὁ ἥλιος ἠμαυρώθη, "the seasons darkened," when he mentions the eclipse of Xerxes, Oct. 2, 480 B.C.

abilsarrāti iṣṣura ṣulul šunu manahtišunu itruṣu eliya ultu ina kuššī abi banyai suibu

"They protected my state of prince successor, they explained as propitious for me their obscurations and their eclipses, after that I had taken my seat on the throne of the father who begot me."

The king does not allude to the lunar eclipse of October 25, 668 B.C., which coincided with the death of his father Esarhaddon, but was invisible at Nineveh, but to the total eclipse of October 14, 667 B.C., at the very date of his real succession to the throne. A year afterwards, at the same date of 14th of Tishri, another lunar eclipse was visible at Nineveh.

It is to be remarked that in the Sardanapalus text the ideogram  is not replaced by *ṣallulu*, written here *ṣulul*, obscuration, but that it is distinct and assumes the pronunciation of *manaḫtu*, "defect."

To quote another instance, Sargon says that, "the princes in Harran explained in his favour an eclipse, and wrote their pact according to the will of Anu and Dagon." We know that the accession of Sargon coincides with the famous three eclipses of Mardocempadus or Merodachbaladan, which are noticed by Ptolemy in the Almagest.

I believe it quite unnecessary, and a want of the respect due to my readers, to dwell upon the insensate attempts at interpretation put forth for the highly uncandid purpose of avoiding the consequences of the true translation of this text. One scholar makes the sun "extend his protecting roof," another "his umbrella," a third would be delighted to see the sun "stretch out his shadow." But the sun has no shadow, and had not even at the accession of Assurnaṣirabal. To produce a shadow it is quite indispensable that an opaque body interpose itself between the heavenly body and the object. This *corpus opacum* in our instance was the moon. Anxious to preserve my own dignity and that of my readers, I pass over other interpretations in charitable silence!

Returning to Assurnaṣirabal, I assert that he mounted the throne on the 2nd of June, 930 B.C. And this assertion agrees with his account of the long and various campaigns which he undertook during the year of his accession; that is during the ten months from his accession down to the commencement of his own Eponomy.

A circumstance which confirms this view is this: the first of the following month was the 14th of June, the first of Sivan, or the first of Tammuz. To the latter case, the first of Nisan would have been the 9th of March, and the year ought to have been an embolinic one. At any rate there elapsed before the end of the accession year, ten months, or 295 days; and such a period was required to get over all the difficulties and to fight all the battles of which the king gives us information. If the eclipse had fallen at another period of the year, for instance, near the end, the question would have been much more puzzling. All these surrounding circumstances confirm the date we suggest.

B. Another hint, which has at least the value of high probability, is afforded by the series of Eponyms before and after the gap proposed by us. The reign of Assurnirar included eight Eponyms, who, with the first twelve of Tiglathpileser, make twenty. These twenty annual officers are divided into two series of ten, which follow all in the same order, viz. :—

For the reign of Assurnirar, the *fainéant* king:
King, tartan, majordomo, chief of the eunuchs, minister, governor of the land, governors of Reseph and of Nisibis.

For the reign of Tiglathpileser:
Governors of Arrapha and of Calaḫ king, tartan, majordomo, chief of the eunuchs, minister, governor of the land, governors of Reseph, of Nisibis, of Arrapha and of Calaḫ.

Then follow, in the usual want of order, the governors of Mazamua, of Si'onê, and others; but previous to those last officers, it is the first time that any fixed rule is observed, and never after that period do we meet with a similar arrangement. Moreover, it had always before been a rule without exception that the king himself occupied the office of annual officer the year after his accession which took his name. Only in this instance of Tiglathpileser is the date of the beginning of the reign given, viz., the 13th of Jyar; the year which follows the accession is entrusted to the governor of Calaḫ, and after him, the king is the Eponym of his own third year. All that is quite irregular.

Moreover, all the high dignitaries are changed. Five among the officers of the kingdom, and the governors of Reseph and Nisibis, are different persons. A single officer, the "governor of the land," bears the same name, Adad-bel-ukin. Now, in a regular succession,

it is not probable that all governors were changed in the short interval of ten years; but it is very likely to have occurred in the course of fifty-six years, if a period of forty-six years passed without Eponymic officers. The only survivor, Adad-bel-ukin, may have been placed again in his former position, unless, as is very possible, and as occurs so frequently, the same name was borne by two distinct individuals. It may be objected that the governors of Arrapḫa and Calaḫ were certainly different persons; but this is not an argument. Two men may have been removed from office in the lapse of ten years; but to suppose that all but one were changed in so short a time is scarcely admissible.

To this argument we must add the unusual tenor of the notice concerning Tiglathpileser: "Nabû-bel-uṣur, governor of Arrapachitis (Arrapḫa): the 18th of Iyar Tiglathpileser mounted the throne: in the month of Tishri he went to the River land!" If the succession of this king had been a regular one such a statement would not have been made, and the separating line would have been traced after the Eponymy of Nabû-bel-uṣur between this and the following year, viz., that of Bel-edil-el, governor of Calaḫ. The reason of the actual arrangement of the text is merely that the Eponymy commenced with the reign of the new king. The last year of Assurnirar has the notice: "Rebellion at Calaḫ." It is to be believed that with this statement the old dynasty, which had lasted 520 years, according to Herodotus, or 526 years according to Berosus, came to an end, and that from this very year the institution of the Eponyms was abolished by the Chaldæans, who calculated the time by years of the king's reign.

II.—The Biblical Statements.

I shall now leave Assyria for Judæa.

My intention is to show that the Biblical statements in the Book of Kings and the Chronicles have at least as great a value as those of the Assyrian inscriptions. What we possess of the history of Judah and Israel from Solomon downwards are scanty abstracts from the *Diaries* of the kings, which were filled up from day to day. The chronology of these annals was calculated in years of an epoch, that of the Exodus itself, which took place 480 years anterior to the inauguration of the building of the Temple. This may be mathematically proved by as many as two hundred chronological statements handed down to our times in different parts of the Holy

Scriptures. As nobody is able to invent false history without being immediately found out, we have more than sufficient means for controlling the correctness of the dates, which corroborate each other; and the figures of the historical books of the Old Testament, borrowed and derived from original and contemporary documents, have the inestimable force of irrefragable witnesses.

For the purpose of this paper, we have merely to consider the period where cuneiform and Biblical records meet each other. This period, very luckily, is posterior to the only serious difficulty which arises from the reigns of *Joram*, Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram of Judah. This interval concerns exclusively the reigns of six rulers of Judah: Athaliah, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah or Azariah, Jotham and Ahaz. Our problem is resolved with the accession of Hezekiah. The kings of Israel whom we must consider are from Ahab onwards, viz., Jehoram or Joram, Jehu, Jehoahaz, Jehoash, Jeroboam II, Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem I, Pekahiah, Pekah, and Menahem II. The last does not figure in the preserved fragments of the Book of the Kings (2, xv); and his existence is only known through the Assyrian texts.

The interval to be examined includes 160 or 161 years; and our calculations are supported by fifty-one Biblical statements. Among these fifty-one, *three* only are to be rejected, as in flagrant contradiction with other controlable Biblical *statements;* and of these three, only one contains a corrupt number.

It is well known that the accession dates of the Judæan kings are given in years of the rulers of Israel, the beginning of whose reigns is likewise given in years of the contemporaneous kings of Judah. The Books of Kings specify the ages of the kings of Judah, the duration of their reigns, the synchronisms with the Israelite kings, and the numbers of years of the reigns of the latter. The Chronicles limit their information to the ages and the length of the reigns of the kings of Judah.

I put together all these statements in a book with the title: *Salomon et ses Successeurs:* PARIS, 1877. I still *maintain the conclusions of that work after twenty years.* The modifications which some recently discovered documents oblige us to introduce, concern only differences of a few months.

We must, previously to all discussion, explain the mathematical meanings of the statements. When there occurs a notice: "In the *n*th year of the King *A*," what is the meaning?

Two systems have been used in ancient and in modern times. The first is that of the Biblical records, counting the years from the day of the beginning of the reign. This is the system employed by the Roman Curia, and in England; according to which we are in the 61st year of the reign of Queen Victoria, and the 20th year of Pope Leo XIII.

The *n*th year means, that from a certain event down to the mentioned epoch, $n-1$ years and a fraction have elapsed. The fractions are expressed by Greek letters. The *n*th year = years $n - 1 + \alpha$. The other way, the more artificial one, is to count the first year of a reign only from the commencement of the following civil year. This is, for instance, the account of the Babylonian dates in the tablets, and of the Assyrian kings, when they avail themselves of the expression *palu*. Eponyms commence, like the royal annals and the private tablets, with the ensuing Nisan, March or April.

In this system, the first year of Queen Victoria would begin the 1st of January, 1838, and she would now be in her year 60. Pope Leo XIII would be in his year 19, as his first would have commenced with the 1st of January, 1879. As we have an era, we need not have recourse to so awkward a method. But the Babylonians were compelled to do so: for instance, the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed in the 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar, *i.e.*, the year 18 of the Babylonian reckoning: on the 10th of Ab, that is Sunday, August 27 (Julian Calendar), August 21 (Gregorian), 587 B.C.—(586 of astronomers), 9,414.* These are the different dates:—

a. Athaliah reigned six years; her accession was about contemporaneous with the usurpation of Jehu of Israel. She was murdered in the 7th year of Jehu: Joash succeeded.

Jehu reigns 28 years.

He dies in the 23rd year of Joash, when his son Jehoahaz succeed him.

Jehoahaz reigns 17 years, until the 39th year of Joash.

* The date of the destruction of the first temple is proved in an article in the *Revue des Études Juives*, 1894. The demonstration follows with mathematical strength, for the only received Chaldæan text which the Biblical texts afford, the delivering of King Jechoniah by Evilmerodach, the 25th Adar of his accession, according to Jeremiah, and the 27th of Adar, according to the Kings; this fact falls either on Sunday, February 29, or Tuesday, March 2, 561 B.C.

In the 39th of Joash of Judah, accession of Joash of Israel. Joash of Judah dies in the 2nd year of Joash of Israel, having reigned 40 years.

Therefore :

Joash *before* Joash of Israel . .	$38 + \nu$
Joash *with* Joash of Israel . . .	$1 + \xi$
Joash reigns	$39 + (\nu + \xi)$

It depends on the values ν and ξ whether Joash reigned more or less than 40 years.

Jehu reigns before Joash . . .	$6 + o$
Jehu with Joash	$22 + \pi$
Reign of Jehu	$28 + (o + \pi)$

Jehu reigned somewhat more than 28 years.

Jehoahaz reigned 17 years :

End of his power, Joash . . .	$38 + \nu$
Commencement	$22 + \pi$
Reign of Jehoahaz	$16 + (\nu - \pi)$

But $\nu - \pi$ must be greater than a half, therefore ν is much more, consequently the reign of Joash of Judah $[39 + (\nu + \xi) + \Delta]$ must be either a little less, but probably more than forty years.

b. Amaziah reigned 29 years.

He became king in the second year of Joash of Israel.

In his 15th year Joash of Israel is killed, having reigned 16 years.

Amaziah survives Joash 15 years, as expressly stated in 2 Kings, xiv, 17.

Jeroboam II succeeds to his father Joash.

Amaziah is murdered, therefore, in the 14th or 15th year of Jeroboam.

Joash of Israel *before* Amaziah . .	$1 + \xi$
Joash of Israel *with* Amaziah . .	$14 + \rho$
	$15 + (\xi + \rho)$

As ξ is much less than a half, the reign of Joash was about 16 years, little more or less. But on the other way :—

Amaziah *with* Joash	$14 + \rho$
After Joash	$15 \pm \omega$
	$29 + (\rho \pm \omega)$

The period of 29 years is, therefore, correct for Amaziah's reign.

c. Uzziah, or Azariah, reigns 15 years with Jeroboam II.

In Uzziah's 38th year Zachariah reigns 6 months.
In Uzziah's 39th year Shallum reigns 1 month.
In Uzziah's 39th year Menahem begins a reign of 10 years.
In Uzziah's 50th year Pekahiah begins a reign of 2 years.
In Uzziah's 52nd year Pekah begins to reign.

Uzziah dies, after a reign of 52 years, in the 2nd year of Pekah.

For the reign of Uzziah we have consequently:—

Before Pekah	$51 + \sigma$
With Pekah	$1 + \tau$
Reign of Uzziah	$52 + (\sigma + \tau)$.

Uzziah reigned, consequently, a little more than 52 years, and the sum of the fractions $\sigma + \tau$ must be less than a half.

Everything in these statements concerning the life and the reign of Uzziah is consistent with itself. He was proclaimed king at 16 years of age, and lived 68 years. The seven Biblical passages concerning the duration of his reign of 52 years are absolutely unassailable. But there is a very difficult question concerning the reign of Jeroboam II, who, according to 2 King xiv, 28, reigned 41 years, while other irreconcilable statements of the book considerably lengthen the interval between his accession and his death. Because we have

Jeroboam before Uzziah . . .	$15 \pm \omega$
Jeroboam with Uzziah . . .	$37 + \gamma$
Reign of Jeroboam . .	$52 + (\gamma \pm \omega)$

But γ must be more than a half, because Zachariah, Jeroboam's son, reigned six months, from the 38th to 39th year of Uzziah.

$$\text{Therefore } (38 + \delta) - (37 + \gamma) = \tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$1 + (\delta - \gamma) = \tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$\gamma - \delta = \tfrac{1}{2}$$

Therefore, between the two limits of the reign of Jeroboam II are 52 or 53 years. But he reigned in Samaria only 41 years; for the Syrians deprived him of his kingdom in his 27th year. This 27th year is quoted (2 Kings xv, 1) as the epoch of Uzziah's elevation to the throne, in contradiction to all other passages.

Jeroboam was expelled from Samaria from B.C. 798 to 787, as I shall show further on; the whole history of the warlike and gallant king has been systematically destroyed by the Jews. Chapter xv commenced indeed, as at present, with the words: *In the 27th year of Jeroboam* . . . . , but then followed the report of his defeats and victories. All these passages have been cancelled or torn out. We shall return to this every interesting subject.

Uzziah became king 15 years after the death of Joash, who was immediately succeeded by Jeroboam II. The whole history of this long reign is almost lost; only the prophets Hosea and Amos supply a few obscure hints about Uzziah and Jeroboam II. But the chronology of Uzziah is quite safe; it is controlled by nine passages of the fifteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings. After Zachariah's ephemeral reign, his murderer Shallum reigned during *one month and* . . . . *days:* the number of days is omitted in the text. If Shallum was king one month and a half, we must add $\frac{1}{8}$ to the 38 + 8 of Zachariah in order to fix the reign of Menahem, which lasted till the 50th year of Uzziah, or till $49 + \chi$. We shall have:

End of Menahem's reign . . .	$49 + \chi$
Beginning of Menahem's reign .	$38 + \delta + \frac{1}{8}$
Menahem reigned . . .	$11 + \chi - \delta - \frac{1}{8}$.

But the text of 2 Kings xv gives only 10 years for this reign. If this statement is right, χ must be less than $\delta + \frac{1}{8}$; and if the result is to agree with the Biblical text, we shall get:

$$11 + \chi - \delta - \tfrac{1}{8} = 10\tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$\chi = \delta - \tfrac{3}{8}$$

Consequently χ must be very little, because δ cannot be greater than $\frac{1}{2}$: and, as in the account concerning Jeroboam II and Zachariah, we saw then $\gamma - \delta = \frac{1}{2}$, γ must be nearly *one*, and the reign of Jeroboam must be nearly $53 \pm \omega$.

Pekahiah, son of Menahem, ruled over Samaria two years, and was killed by Pekah, in the 52nd year of Uzziah, that is $51 + \sigma$, and σ must be very little, for $52 + (\sigma + \tau)$ does not amount to $52\frac{1}{2}$. Moreover, we shall have:

End of Pekahiah	$51 + \sigma$
Commencement of Pekahiah . .	$49 + \chi$
Reign of Pekahiah . .	$2 + (\sigma - \chi)$.

As σ and χ are both very small values, Pekahiah reigned just two full years, a small fraction less or more.

All these reigns fill up the last fifteen years of Uzziah, whose reign cannot have covered less than $52\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned 16 years, from the 2nd till the 17 year of Pekah, therefore we have :

End of Jotham . . . . . Pekah	$16 + \upsilon$
Commencement of Jotham	$1 + \tau$
Reign of Jotham . .	$15 + (\upsilon - \tau)$.

The fraction υ may be great, but τ is small; therefore, at any rate, Jotham cannot have reigned 16 complete years, because $\upsilon - \tau$ must be always smaller than *one*.

e. The chronology of Ahaz presents some difficulties, as there is a discrepancy of *one* year in the account: we have not of course, to deal now with the still more puzzling reign of Pekah. According to two passages, Ahaz reigned 16 years: in his 12th year Hosea slew Pekah, and Ahaz died in the 3rd year of Hosea. These statements are :

Ahaz *before* Hoshea	$11 + \phi$
Ahaz *with* Hoshea	$2 + \psi$
Reign of Ahaz . .	$13 + (\phi + \psi)$

Even if we suppose ϕ and ψ very great, the expression cannot amount to *two*, and always we shall obtain $15 - \Delta$. It is impossible, on the other side, to change the notice concerning the third year of Hosea, for the death of Ahaz and Hezekiah's accession to the throne : therefore—

In the 12*th year* (2 Kings xvii, 1) must be changed into the 13th :

Or, the two passages of Kings and Chronicles give 15, and not 16 years for the reign of Ahaz.

We maintain, in this instance, the number 16; the question is of no importance at all, as the general chronology cannot be affected by this negligible difference.

Almost six years after the death of Ahaz, Samaria was taken and destroyed by Sargon. This most important event took place in the commencement of January or February of the year 721 B.C.—720, 9,280. The death of Ahaz is consequently to be referred to the commencement of 727 B.C. We have not here to discuss the reasons of this determination, resulting as it does from the various

passages of the Bible. With respect to the accession of Sargon, or the 12 Tibet, the Babylonian Chronicle discovered by Mr. Pinches has furnished us with the means of fixing the dates incontestably.

The results have been set forth in a paper: *Die Schaltmonate bei den Babyloniern und die chaldäisch-ägyptische Aera des Nabonassar*, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1897, p. 196 ff.

Consequently, we have to recognize as historical facts, the following undeniable Biblical statements, viz.:—

Athaliah reigned	6 years.
Jehoash	40 ,,
Amaziah	29 ,,
Uzziah	52 ,,
Jotham	16 ,,
Ahaz	16 ,,
To the downfall of Samaria .	6 ,,
Total	165 ,,

As Athaliah and Uzziah reigned certainly, Joas and Amaziah ruled probably somewhat longer than 127 years, and although Jotham and Ahaz a little less than 32 years, we may admit as more accurate $165 + \underline{0}$. We must not forget that Athaliah's usurpation was a very short time posterior to that of Jehu.

In order to get the date of this latter fact, we must place it 165 years and some months before January–February, 721 B.C. Therefore, with a mathematical certainty, Jehu seized the Israelitish crown in the last half of 887 B.C., or 9,114.

I cannot refrain from repeating that I have strictly respected the written numbers: and that all those hypothetical expedients of assuming minorities, coregencies, and so forth, are absolutely to be excluded from consideration. *I read, what is to be read, because it is written.*

This is the real and the only criterion of historical investigation: we must bow to these statements, because the men who wrote them were better instructed than we are, who, apart from their testimony, could know nothing about the honestly transmitted tradition.

III.—Confirmation.

We shall now see that these Biblical statements are merely confirmed by the Assyrian texts.

On the black obelisk of Nimroûd, Salmaneser III mentions the tributes sent to him by Jehu. In a passage of his annals he places this event in the 18th year of his reign, by which all understood his 18th *civil year* or *palu*.

On the stelæ at the Tigris sources, he mentions, in his 6th civil year, *Aḥabbu Sir'alaï*, "Ahab of Israel. As between Ahab and Jehu, Ahaziah and Joram reigned almost 13 years, it is evident that the mention of Ahab coincides with his end, and that of Jehu with the beginning of this king's rule. Immediately after his bloody usurpation, and fearing the hostility of Athaliah, it was quite natural that he should be anxious to gain the friendship of the mighty Assyrian.

The 18th Eponomy of Salmaneser III is that of Bel-abuya, seventy-eight years before the Eponomy of Edid-seti-iqbi, when the solar eclipse was observed and recorded. Admitting as only possible the date of 809 for the mentioned Eponomy, we obtain for the Eponomy of Bel-abuya *the date of* 887 B.C. !

This Eponomy commenced with the first of Nisan, either March 28 or April 26, and ended either on March 17 or April 16 of 886 B.C.

The accession of Jehu, too, is to be fixed in the latter half of 887 B.C.

This marvellous agreement will be regarded by every impartial and scientific scholar as a decisive demonstration.

Consequently we must admit a gap in the list of Eponoms at the very place which I pointed out long ago.

IV.—Pekah, Manahem II, Azariah, Jeroboam II, Pul.

The combined statements of the Bible and the cuneiform inscriptions guide us to establishing the real historical facts.

A. During the gap of nearly 46 (perhaps 47) years Pul, the Chaldæan, reigned in Nineveh, who reckoned the years of his reign according to the Babylonian custom. But hitherto no document emanating from his reign has been observed. His existence is attested only by the Biblical notice that he overran Palestine during the reign of Menahem of Israel (772 to 761 B.C.). After Uzziah, the contemporary of Menahem, whom he survived 3 years, Jotham ruled in Judah for 16 years. During that time Tiglathpileser usurped the Assyrian power, 13 years after Uzziah's death. The

successor of Jotham had to do with Tiglathpileser, who supported him against Rezin, king of Damascus, Pekah, son of Remaliah, and Azariah, son of Tabeël. Tiglathpileser put to death Rezin, a fact stated by the Bible and the Assyrian texts. The Assyrian ruler mentions Ahaz (*Yauhazi*), the Judæan, and Pekah (Paqaḫa); and he tells us likewise that Pekah was murdered by Hosea (*Usie*). In all instances where we have cuneiform documents, they are conformable with the statements of the Bible.

But Tiglathpileser, when in his ninth year he names Ahaz of Judah among his tributary princes, does not mention Pekah, as he actually does in a later text, but calls the Samaritan prince Menahem (*Menihimmu Samirimaï*. The undeniable conclusion from these facts is that the Menahem named by Tiglathpileser can not be the same person as the Menahem of the Book of Kings, the contemporary of Uzziah, who had been dead almost twenty-five years.

This irrefutable reasoning is supported by another fact. The same Tiglathpileser speaks of a certain "Azariah the Judæan" (*Azariyau Yakidai*), who can by no means be identical with Uzziah or Azariah, King of Judah, who also had been dead for twenty-three years. As the other Azariah was alive, he was another person. I hope not to be contradicted on this point.

This distinction between the two Azariahs is the more unexceptionable, as we have in the Hebrew texts no fewer than *sixteen* individuals named Azariah.

Our information about the lost kings of Judah and Israel is so very scanty, that we must be grateful to every chance that favours us with a hint. Now, in the seventh chapter of Isaiah we read a highly important passage referring to the quarrels between Ahaz, son of Jotham, on the one side, and Rezin of Damascus and Pekah, son of Remaliah, on the other. The prophet promises divine protection to the king of Judah, whom his antagonist wanted superseded and replaced by "the son of Tabeël." We read (verses) 5 and 6:

> 5. Aram has formed a bad purpose against thee, "with Ephraïm and the son of Remaliah, and say:
>
> 6. We will go up against Judah and excite them, and deal betwixt us, and make king of it the son of Tabeël."

The son of Remaliah is Pekah, and the son of Tabeël (written *Tab'al* in the Massoretic text) had certainly a personal name

belonging to him as distinct from that of his father. He was, of course, the enemy of Tiglathpileser, who protected Ahaz against his antagonists, and for that reason he is mentioned in the annals of the Ninivite ruler.

Thus the cuneiform texts complete and corroborate the Biblical statements, which without them would remain unintelligible.

The son of Tabeël is the "Azariah, the Judæn" of the Tiglathpileser annals.

B. Clear and indisputable as are the Biblical notices about Hoshea, as exiguous and incomplete are those concerning his predecessor and victim, Pekah: but on this head also the Assyrian documents explain some apparent contradictions of the Bible.

It is said (2 Kings ii, 15) that Pekah ruled twenty years over Samaria. Nevertheless this figure is contradicted by four other passages, consistent with themselves.

It is said that Ahaz succeeded to Jotham in the 17th year of Pekah, and that Hoshea murdered Pekah in his own 12th year, according to the now existing Biblical text. But we have already pointed out that more than 12 years must have elapsed between the accession of Ahaz and the death of Pekah. We have therefore—

Pekah before Ahaz . . .	$16 + \upsilon$
Pekah with Ahaz	$12 + \phi$
Reign of Pekah . .	$28 + (\upsilon + \phi)$

The interval between the crime of Pekah, who slew his predecessor Pekahiah, and his own violent death is more than 28, perhaps more than 29 years. Nearly the same result is obtained, if we retain merely the 12th year of the text.

Pekah with Uzziah	$1 + \tau$
Pekah with Jotham	$15 + (\upsilon - \tau)$
Pekah with Ahaz	$11 + \phi$
	$27 + (\upsilon + \phi)$

where $\upsilon + \phi$ must be greater than unity.

Nevertheless, instead of those required 29 years, the Book of Kings (II, xv, 27) limits the government of Pekah in Samaria to *twenty* years. This figure is not erroneous: let us remember that among the loyal tributaries of Tiglathpileser is mentioned the "Menahem of Samaria," who cannot be the homonymous antagonist of Pul. Pekah, notwithstanding, was certainly on the throne in

Samaria when the Assyrian ruler came, in his 13th year, to Syria and Palestine, and overthrew Rezin at Damascus; while Menahem ruled in the Israelite capital in the 9th year of the king of Nineveh. Consequently, the cuneiform records compel us to respect the Biblical relation, and explain how it is possible to admit Pekah ruling only during twenty years, although *twenty-nine* years passed from his accession to his death.

During nine years, Menahem II ruled Samaria.

And in this connexion we must examine the *one* false number among so many genuine figures. It is said (2 Kings, xv, 30) that "Hoshea slew Pekah, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham, son of Uzziah." *

It is, before all, to be observed, that never elsewhere is a synchronism found after the relation of an event, that the chronological notice always occurs at the beginning of the report. The original text was: "And Hoshea . . . . . and reigned in his stead." In the . . . . year of Jotham, the son of Uzziah . . . . . ."

The now destroyed text goes on to relate a fact which the author of this mutilation had an interest in obliterating, and which probably referred to this very Menahem II. The like obliteration of an important event can be proved in the history of Jeroboam II.

But this is not the only remark to be made on these words: it cannot be the *twentieth* year, as Jotham reigned only *sixteen* years. The passage is simply mutilated and corrupt.

It is impossible to imagine what nonsense has been put forth on these poor five words, "In the twentieth year of Jotham, son of Uzziah" (they are but five in the Hebrew); and we openly affirm that this has been done *mala fide*. Overlooking the two hundred sound statements, some detractors of the Biblical chronology always quote these five words, in order to annihilate its credibility.

Very likely the restoration of Pekah took place in 735 B.C., a short time before Tiglathpileser's expedition against Palestine, which is referred to in the Eponym List. Menahem may have ruled from 744 to 705, and the Bible text, when it was complete, may have run in this way: "In the 15th year of Jotham, son of Uzziah [Menahem, son of . . . . . made a conspiracy against Pekah . . . . .];" describing the rebellion, the flight of Pekah, and his subsequent return to Samaria.

* It is highly probable that this false number, the *only one* we find, crept in by the confusion with the *twenty* years of Pekah's reign.

In fact, Pekah reigned 20 years—the first time, 15 years; the second time, 5 years. We will, therefore, fix his reign thus:—

Pekah	759–744
Menahem II	744–735
Pekah restored	735–730

This is the solution of the Pekah question.

6. The Biblical text attributes to Jeroboam II 41 years, while 52 or 53 years elapsed between his accession and his death. During his reign, the kingdom of Israel came very near to being absorbed and annihilated by the Syrian monarch, who for 11 or 12 years even deprived Jeroboam II of his kingdom. The hint of this is given in the mysterious passage of 2 Kings, xiv, 26–28:—

"For the Lord saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was none shut up nor left at large, neither was there any helper for Israel. And the Lord said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash."

Moreover we read in Isaiah vii, 8, 9:—

"For Damascus is the head of Syria, and Rezin the head of Damascus, and for the second time after sixty-five years Ephraim shall be cut off from the nations.

"And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria the son of Remaliah."

Remember also that in 2 Kings, xv, 1, it is said in our texts that in Jeroboam's 27th year Uzziah succeeded to his father Amaziah, while the correct statement puts this event in Jeroboam's 15th year.

All mention of this temporary disappearance of Israel has been entirely obliterated and intentionally destroyed. But the above quoted passages are more than sufficient to re-establish the real historical facts, notwithstanding the destruction of all documents, including the prophecies of Jonah referred to in the Book of Kings (II, xiv, 25), in connexion with this reign.

In his 27th year Jeroboam lost his kingdom, and Isaiah threatens that, after sixty-five years, Pekah will suffer the same misfortune.

The 27th year of Jeroboam is to be fixed as 798 B.C., and as the threatened overthrow of Samaria and the deportation and exile of a great part of Israel happened in 738, the prophet alludes to a fact which took place sixty-five years previously, *i.e.*, in 798 B.C., the 27th year of Jeroboam II, who by his heroism delivered Israel from the Syrian yoke.

I have referred to the allusions preserved in the prophecies of Hosea and Amos, and some other passages.

Consequently we have this scheme :—

Jeroboam II, first reign	825–798
Temporary destruction of the Israelitic power by the Syrians	798–787
Jeroboam II, after his restoration . . .	787–773

Therefore, as the Biblical text affirms, Jeroboam II reigned 41 years : the first time 27, the second 14 years.

This restoration of historical facts results from as many as *five* distinct Biblical statements.

D. King Pul of Assyria, the contemporary of Menahem, reigned before 762 B.C. He preceded the dynasty beginning with Nabû-šum-úkin, the predecessor of Nabonassar, as the list of kings states, 31 years before Chinziros, who mounted the throne in 731 B.C. He is of course more than 30 years anterior to the second Pul, the Poras of the Ptolemäc canon, the antagonist of Tiglathpileser, whom he turned out from Babylon at least once if not twice.

It is insensate to say that the Bible in the same chapter, at the distance of a few lines, called the same king first Pul and then always afterwards Tiglathpileser.

The pretended identity of Pul and Tiglathpileser is not worthy of discussion ; it is contradicted by all historical documents, whatever their origin.

V.—Conclusion.

And now we may for a moment examine the hypothesis of the non-interruption of the Assyrian eponymic tablets. If we admit that supposition, we are obliged to put the death of Ahab in 854, and the accession of Jehu in 841 B.C. ; and we must reduce the interval between the downfall of Samaria and the reign of Jehu from 166 to 120 years.

I frankly confess that I feel unable to get over this impossibility ; I firmly believe no body else can.

All attempts to identify the eclipse of Esid-seti-iqbi with that of June 15, 763 B.C., have been complete failures. It is possible that the years from Tiglathpileser onward may be chronologically fixed as if there was no interruption ; I myself established the fact of the probability of this in spite of my former scheme. The com-

putations resulting from the Ptolemaïc canon, compared with some Assyrian dates, render this fact most probable, but there may also exist a difference of a year or two. Hitherto we have no chronological or astronomical statement to fix in a scientific way the later eponymic years, but it is highly probable that the gap between Assurnirar and Tiglathpileser is not 45 or 47, but just 46 years (the reign of several monarchs, *e.g.*, Artaxerxes Mnemon).

The chronology of the Assyrian and Israelite kings may, therefore, be tabulated in the following way :—

ASSYRIAN AND CHALDÆAN RULERS.

Adad-nirar II	..–936
Tuklat-Ninip	936–930
Assur-nasir-abal	930–905
Shalmaneser III	905–870
Sansi-Adad	870–857
Adad-nirar III	857–828
Shalmaneser IV	828–818
Assur-edil-el	818–800
Assur-nirar	800–792
.... Belesys	792–..
.. Pul	..–762
Nabû-šum-ukîn	762–747
Nabonassar, king of Babylon and Assyria	747–745
Tiglathpileser III	745–727
Salmaneser V	727–722

The dates referring to Shalmaneser and Sargon can now be fixed with an astonishing precision by the statements of the *Babylonian Chronicle*, combined with the famous lunar eclipses of 721 and 720 B.C., mentioned by Ptolemy (*Alm.* IV, 6). It is principally the first phenomenon of Monday, March 19, 721 B.C., which according to the cuneiform texts the translation of which guided the Alexandrian astronomers. The 29th of Thoth was the Egyptian translation of the Chaldæn 27 of Nob, first year of Mardacompadus or Merodachbaladan, and the cuneiform text certainly fixed the eclipse at the 14th of Nisan. These are the precise dates :—

Accession of Shalmaneser (Tebeth 25), Friday, January 26, 726 B.C.
Death of Shalmaneser (Tebeth 1), Friday, December 9, 722 B.C.

Accession of Sargon (Tebeth 12), Tuesday, December 20, 722 B.C.
Downfall of Samaria, January–February, 721 B.C.
Accession of Merodachbaladan (Nisan 1), Tuesday, March 6, 721 B.C.

The fixation of Shalmaneser's accession may go higher up for a month to Thursday, December 28, 727 B.C. We do not know the origin of this year.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

Solomon	aged at his death	64	years,	reigned		1017–978
Rehoboam . . .	,, ,,	58	,,	,,		978–960
Abijah	,, ,,	58	,,	,,		960–958
Asa	,, ,,	58	,,	,,		958–917
Jehoshaphat alone .	,, ,,	60	,,	,,		917–895
Jehoshaphat and Joram	,, ,,		,,	,,		895–892
Joram alone . . .	,, ,,	40	,,	,,		892–888
Ahaziah	,, ,,	23	,,	,,		888–887
Athaliah . .	aged at her death about	45	,,	,,		887–881
Joash	aged at his death	47	,,	,,		881–840
Amasiah	,, ,,	54	,,	,,		840–811
Uzziah	,, ,,	68	,,	,,		811–758
Jotham.	,, ,,	41	,,	,,		758–742
Ahaz	,, ,,	36	,,	,,		742–727
Hezekiah	,, ,,	54 (rather 44)	,,	,,		727–698
Manasseh	,, ,,	67	,,	,,		698–642
Amon	,, ,,	24	,,	,,		642–640
Josiah	,, ,,	39	,,	,,		640–609
Jehoahaz	,, ,,	23	,,	,,		609
Jehoiakim . . .	,, ,,	36	,,	,,		609–598
Jehoiachin–Jchoniah	at his captivity	18	,,	,,		589
Zedekiah	,, ,,	32	,,	,,		598–587
Destruction of the Temple, Sunday the 27th of August						587

The ages of the kings prove the high credibility of the Biblical numbers. It is evident that, in view of the ages of these rulers, it is impossible to shorten their reign. There may be a few clerical errors. Hezekiah, whose father Ahaz died young, was not aged 25, but 15 years, at his accession: the father was only 11 years older than the son. We may well be astonished that among so many

figures there occur so few errors and faults: six or seven in more than two hundred. In the birth-figures, there is *no error of number at all.*

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

Jeroboam I	977–956
Nadab	956–955
Baasha	955–932
Elah	932–931
Omri with Tibai	931–927
Omri alone	927–920
Ahab	920–900
Ahaziah	900–899
Joram	899–887
Jehu	887–859
Jehoahaz	859–842
Joash	842–825
Jeroboam II (first reign)	825–798
Domination of the Syrians	798–787
Jeroboam II (restored)	787–773
Zachariah	773–772
Shallum	772
Menahem I	772–761
Pekahiah	761–759
Pekah (first reign)	759–744
Menahem II	744–735
Pekah restored	735–730
Hoshea	730–721

End of the kingdom of Israel, February 721.

And who would have been able to *invent* all those figures? By whom would they have been forged, and why?

All different systems concerning as well Assyrian as Judæan history, which are in contradiction to the biblical statements, must be rejected.

We believe we have completed the demonstration of the mathematical exactness of the figures of the Bible, and have shown that it is quite an unscientific way to neglect and to despise them, and peculiarly so, when the Assyrian documents are misunderstood by

those who despise historical statements. We must not forget that the Assyrian history itself is only known by fragments, and that we have hitherto no documents from Adadnirar III, Shalmaneser III. Assuredilel, Assurnirar, and Phul, who had to deal with Jehu, the son Joash, Amaziah, Jeroboam II, Uzziah, and Menahem I. The Assyrian soil has unluckily been neglected for forty years, although the documents of all these kings undoubtedly still exist somewhere, and could be found. We can only devoutly hope and wish for new discoveries, which will definitely and decidedly settle much of the chronology of the Holy Scriptures.

FRAGMENTS OF THE SAHIDIC VERSION OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES, ETC.

November 12, 1897.

DEAR SIR,

In the *Proceedings* of the Society for Nov., 1895, there is a notice of some fragments of the Sahidic version of the Bible which I procured in Egypt during the previous winter. The following account of some larger fragments procured about the same time may perhaps be deemed of sufficient interest to be brought before the Society.

Vellum remains of a MS. of the Sahidic version of the Pauline epistles (and other matter). The leaves must have been originally about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 6 inches; the pages were numbered as usual in Koptic MSS., but on only two leaves do the numbers remain. There are two columns to a page. The remaining portions are:—(*a*) Part of a leaf containing, *recto*, 1 Cor. x, 29–31, *verso*, 1 Cor. xi, 1–3, mutilated. (*b*) Part of a leaf, *recto*, I Cor. xi, 12–14, *verso*, 1 Cor. xi, 15–18, mutilated. (*c*) The lower part of a leaf containing portions of 1 Cor. xvi, 11–19, and attached to it, (*d*), a much injured leaf containing II Cor. iv, 12–18, v, 1–6; this leaf is paged ⲣ̅ϡ̅ⲏ̅, ⲣ̅ϡ̅ⲑ̅ (138, 139). (*e*) A leaf, of which the *recto* is almost illegible; the *verso* paged ⲣ̅ϡ̅ⲉ̅ (145) contains II Cor. vii, 1–7. (*f*) Forty-one leaves containing Galatians v, 26 to end, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and II Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, II Timothy (I, i–iv, 3) and five leaves containing II Timothy, iv, 22 to end, Titus, Philemon. In addition to minor mutilations, particularly in the outer column of each page, the top of every leaf, with the number of the page and about two lines of text at the top of each column, is gone. Between the end of one epistle and the beginning of the next is a space equal to about four lines, containing (separated by some slight ornamentation) the subscription of one epistle and the title of the next. The titles and subscriptions (which are identical in form) are very short, *e.g.*, ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥ, ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲏⲥⲓⲟⲩⲥ. Philemon ends six lines from the bottom of the first column of the last remaining page, and the second column is occupied by St. John's Gospel i, 1–6 (by the same hand as the rest of the MS.). As the heading is lost, it is impossible to say whether the MS. originally contained the whole Gospel or only the beginning

of it.* There must have been at least one more leaf, as the passage ends in the middle of a sentence, ⲟⲩ ⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ]. The MS. is written in a comparatively small Uncial character; the titles and subscriptions are in the same character as the text, and the initial letters of the epistles are no larger than the others; it is not, however, safe to judge of the age of undated Koptic MS.

The whole MS. is in a most fragile and dilapidated condition from damp and hard usage, the vellum is extremely thin and almost falling to pieces, especially at the edges of the leaves.

So far as can be judged from the lists given by Gregory (*Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's N.T., pp. 884–892), and Miller (Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th edition, II, pp. 127–139), some of the matter in these fragments is not to be found elsewhere. As a specimen I give what is left of the Epistle to Philemon, preserving the lines and punctuation of the MS. The title and beginning are lost:—

ⲧ . . . .

ⲉⲩ . . . .

ⲱⲡⲉⲙ . . . .

2. ⲙⲙ̄ ⲁⲙⲙⲫ . . . . . ⲡⲥ

ⲙⲙ̄ ⲁⲣⲭ[ⲓⲙ]ⲡ . . . . . ⲙⲉⲣ

ⲥⲩ ⲃ̄ⲣⲙⲙⲁ . ⲟ . . . . . ⲟⲩⲙ

ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲍ ⲥⲉⲧ . . . . . ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ

3. ⲛⲓ · ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ . . . . . ⲏⲧⲥⲍⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩ

ⲙⲙ̄ ⲫⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲃ[ⲟⲗ] ⲍ . . . ⲛⲉⲡⲉ⸗ⲭ̄ⲥ̄

ⲍⲓⲧⲧ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . . 7. ⲓⲩ . . ⲓⲟ . . ⲧⲁⲣ̄ ⲡ

ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲙ̄ ⲡⲭⲟ . . . . ⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲟⲗ

4. ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ · ⲫⲩⲡⲍ . . ⲉⲍ ⲣⲁⲓⲉⲭⲏ̄ · ⲧⲉⲕ

ⲏ̄ ⲧⲏ̄ ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] [ⲁ]ⲧⲁⲡⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲥ

ⲟⲉⲓⲥⲩ ⲛⲓⲙⲙ ⲉⲉ . . . ⲭ . . ⲣⲟⲙ ⲛⲡⲉ

ⲙⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉⲍ . . ⲙ [ⲑ]ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲙ ⲧⲟⲡⲙⲙ

ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲏⲗ′ ⲉⲉ . . ⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲓⲧⲟ

8. . . ⲡⲕ ⲥⲟⲙ · ⲉⲧ

. . . . ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲉⲏ̄ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲙ

. . . . ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟ ⲥ̄ ⲙⲙ

ⲡⲁⲣⲍⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲍⲙⲙⲡⲉ

* St. John at one time stood first of the Gospels in Sahidic (Scrivener, 4th ed., II, p. 137.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

9. . . ϩⲟⲩⲟⲉ[ⲡⲁ]
ⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓⲛ ⲉϩⲱ . .
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟ . .
ⲣⲟⲕ · ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲉ
ⲟⲛ ⲉⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲏⲣϩ̈ . .
10. ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ · ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ
ⲗⲉⲓ ⲙ̈ ⲙ̈ⲟⲕϩⲁⲡⲁ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈
ⲁⲡⲟ ⲥϩⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲙ̈ⲣⲣⲉ
11. ⲟⲛⲛⲥⲓⲙ̈ⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲁⲕⲛ̅ⲱⲁⲙ̈
ⲛⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲓⲱ · ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲉϥⲟⲛⲁⲕ . .
ⲱⲛⲙ̈ⲛ̅ⲱⲁⲩ · ⲁⲓ̈
ⲧⲛ̅ ⲙ̈ⲟⲟⲩ ϥ ⲱⲁ . .
12. ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲟⲡⲓ
ⲉⲣⲟⲕⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ . .
ⲛⲁ ⲥⲡⲗⲁⲅⲭⲛⲟ[ⲩ]
13. ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲉⲓⲟⲩ . .
ⲉⲁⲙ̈ⲁϩ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̈ ⲙ̈ . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . ⲙ̈ⲡⲉⲩ . .
. . . ⲛⲓⲙ̈ ⲡⲓⲟⲩ . . c
14. . . ⲉⲉⲣ̅ⲗ ⲁⲁⲧⲁ ⲭ̅ⲛ
ⲧⲉⲕⲩⲛⲱⲙ̈ⲙⲏ ⲭⲉⲛ̅
ⲛⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲟⲛ
ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ
ϩⲧⲟⲣ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϩ ⲛⲁⲕ
15. ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̈ⲛ̅ ⲱⲁⲕ
ⲡⲁⲣⲛ̅ⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲉⲙ̈ⲙ̈
ⲙ̈ⲟⲕ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕ ⲉⲭⲓⲧϥ
16. ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ϩⲱⲥ ϩⲙ̈
ϩⲁⲗⲁⲓⲛ ϭⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲧ
ⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ ⲉϩ ⲙ̈ⲙ̈ϩ ⲁⲗⲟⲩ
ⲥⲟⲛⲙ̈ ⲙ̈ⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲁ
. . ⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲟⲩ
. . ⲣϭⲉⲛⲁⲕϩ̅ⲛ̅ⲧ ⲥⲁⲣϩ
17. ⲉⲱⲙⲛⲉ ϭⲉ ⲧⲱⲟ [ⲁ]ⲛⲁ ϩⲙ̈ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ·
. . ⲙⲛⲁⲕ̅ ⲕⲟⲓⲙⲱ
[ⲛ]ⲟⲥ · ⲱⲟⲩϥⲉⲣⲟⲕ

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ⲡ . . . .
ⲡ̄ . . . .
ⲧⲡ̄. . . .
ϫⲉⲕⲁ . . .
ⲟⲥϫⲉⲕ . . .
ⲍⲱⲱⲕⲡ̄ . . . .
20. ⲓⲟ ⲛⲥⲟ . . . . .
ⲡ̄ ⲍⲏⲧⲍ
ⲡ ϫⲟⲉ[ⲓⲥ] . . .
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥ *
21. ⲍⲉ̄ⲉ̄ ⲛⲉ . . ⲉ . .
ⲛ̄ⲍ ⲧⲏⲓⲉ ⲧⲉⲕ ⲉⲉ
ⲥⲧⲉⲉⲏⲧⲁⲓⲥⲍ . .
ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲉ · ⲥⲟⲟⲩ . .
ϫⲉⲕ ⲛⲁⲩⲍⲟⲩ . .
22. ⲡⲉϯ ϫⲱⲉⲉⲉⲉⲟ . [ⲍⲁ]
ⲉⲉⲁ ⲁⲉⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩ · ⲥⲟ . . †
ⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲉⲁⲛ . .

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
24. . . . ⲉⲉⲛⲉ
. . [ⲉⲉⲁⲣ]ⲕⲟⲥ
[ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧ]ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ
. . ⲥ · ⲉⲉⲡ̄
. . . ⲛⲁⲱⲃⲣ̄
. . . ⲗⲱⲧⲟⲥ
. . . ⲱⲃⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲍⲱⲃ
25. . . . ⲥⲉⲉ̄ ⲡⲉⲛ
. . . . ⲛⲉⲭⲥ
. . . ⲛ̄ ⲛⲛⲁ

(subscription)
[ⲡ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲫⲓⲗⲏ
ⲉⲉⲱⲙ
〉〉〉〉 〉〉〉〉〉 〉〉〉〉

Hebrews in Sahidic MSS. stands before Galatians (*cf.* Lightfoot in Scriv., *op. cit.*, p. 138), and is therefore wanting in the present fragments.

In the fragment of St. John, ὁ λόγος is represented by ⲡⲱⲁϫⲉ (as in the text published by Lemm, *Bruchstücke der Sahidischen, Bibelübersetzung*, 1885), not ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲥⲟⲥ, as in Woide's edition.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
JOHN E. GILMORE.

* Tuki *Rudimenta*, p. 137, gives v. 20 thus : ⲍⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲓⲉⲉⲧⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲩ ⲉⲉⲉⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.

† Tuki, p. 182, ⲍⲁⲁⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩ ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲁⲛⲱⲡⲉ.

DOOR LINTEL DISCOVERED BY MR. GEORGE SMITH AT KOUYUNJIK.

7, POWIS SQUARE,
BRIGHTON,
8th January, 1898.

MY DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I find from the paper entitled "Noté sur un linteau de porte découvert en Assyrie par George Smith," published in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. XIX, Part 6, that a discussion has taken place regarding the origin of a lintel of a doorway which is said to have been discovered in the palace of Sennacherib by the late Mr. George Smith. Mr. Smith seems to have mistaken it for an Assyrian object, whereas it is purely of Sassanian or Parthian remains, as I found on excavating at Kouyunjik that those barbarous people had occupied the ruined palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal after the destruction of the Assyrian monarchy, and erected their rude buildings within them. The said Mr. Smith made no new discovery when he was sent to Mesopotamia, in 1873, by the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," but he merely excavated in the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, discovered by Sir Henry Layard and myself in 1847 and 1853 respectively. As Mr. Smith was not much experienced in Assyrian researches, he mistook Sassanian art for that of Assyrian, because he mentions in his work entitled "Smith's Assyrian Discoveries," p. 146, that "this curious lintel is the first Assyrian object of the kind which has been discovered."

Both Sir Henry Layard * and I discovered in the Assyrian palaces different objects and coins of Sassanian, Roman, and Grecian origin, and I myself found in 1878 a stone statuette of the latter nationality deep below ground, which is now in the British Museum.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
H. RASSAM.

* Vide "Layard's Nineveh and Babylon," p. 590.

TWO TEXTS REFERRED TO IN REPORT OF THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In the Report of the Paris Oriental Congress in the last number of the *Proceedings*, reference was made to a new tablet, relating to the Story of the Deluge, introduced by Father Scheil. I now send you his final translation of it, as being peculiarly interesting to the Society. Also it is probable that this tablet will prove of special value, as it is derived from Sippara, and presents a version of the story hitherto unknown in cuneiform texts. There was reason to anticipate this, because the legend as to Chronos and Xisuthros, as bequeathed to us by Berosus, which he also associated with Sippara, differs also from the Babylonian ones hitherto known.

The new text is also valuable because it is dated about 2250 B.C., and yet was only a copy of a document so ancient when re-engrossed that the original text is stated to have been in some places illegible.

The other text is M. Naville's translation of part of the famous Meneptha stela relating to the Israelites, which he presented to the same Congress, and considers as being an Egyptian account of the Exodus.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE BABYLONIAN DELUGE STORY.

The following is the translation by R. P. Scheil, of the tablet an account of which he gave to the Oriental Congress. It is taken from his account in the *Revue-Biblique*. The date of the tablet is about B.C. 2140 in the reign of Ammizadouga, and the scribe's name was Mullil-Aya or Ellit-Aya :—

qu'il extermine qu'il anéantisse . . . .
qu'à l'aurore, il fasse pleuvoir la mort . . . .
qu'il prolonge, la nuit encore . . . .
qu'il fasse pleuvoir l'inondation . . . . . .
il fera monstrueuse la ruine des champs, la ville . .

ce qu Ramman a accompli dans la ville . . . .
It dit et bouleversa (?) la contrée . . . .
Il poussa un cri . . . . . .
Mais il ne craignirent pas . . . .

. . . . . .

Ea (?) prit la parole et me dit :
pourquoi veux-tu tuer les hommes . . . .
je tendrai ma main à l'homme
le deluge dont tu parles . . . .
quel qu'il soit je . . . . .
ceux que j'enfante . . . .
il sera averti . . . .
afin qu'il le sauve . . .
et il fabriquera . . .
et il enfantera
qu'ils viennent dans (un vaisseau)
que Pir napistim prenne la rame . . .
qu'il vienne
qu'il mene . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . le parfait
. . . . . il fit aux hommes
Adramhasis prit la parole
et dit à son seigneur.

. . . . . .

Tablette deuxième de l'histoire. Pendant que l'homme reposait. Tablette de 439 lines. Ellit Aya scribe élève. Mois de Sebat jour 28 année où Ammizaduga roi, le fort Ammizadugaki à l'embouchure de l'Euphrate construisit.

The following is Professsor Naville's translation of the portion of the long inscription of Menepthah discovered by Dr. Petrie, which relates to the Israelites. It was read by M. Naville to the Oriental Congress, and has now been published by him, with long explanatory remarks, in the *Recueil de Travaux* :—

"Kheta est en paix, Kanaan est prisonnier de tous les maux ; [car] Askalon est amené, pris par Ghezer [et] Iamnia n'existe plus ; Israël est anéanti, il n'a plus de postérité. La Syrie est comme les veuves d'Égypte, tous les pays sans exception sont en paix, car quiconque remuait a été châtie par le roi Ménephtah."

M. Naville shows that Kheta and Kanaan are the names of districts north and south of Palestine, whereas Askalon, Ghezer and Jamnia (in the text Inu ámam or Inu ámma) are those of cities. Strabo, bk. 16, ch. II, 23, mentions Jamnia, Ghezer, Ashdod, and Askelon, as being contiguous. The statement of the inscription regarding the cities is, not that the Egyptians had conquered them, but that, as in the period of the Tel el Amarna tablets, they, by internecine strife, had ruined themselves. Had it been the result of Egyptian victories, it would have been duly vaunted in the text.

M. Naville considers the statement regarding the Israelites relates to the time when they were traversing the wilderness, when, for the poetical style of the scribe, they were annihilated; they having disappeared into the desert. The fact that they left no posterity behind confirms the Jewish account of how the Exodus included every member of their race, even to the youngest.

Yours faithfully,

JOS. OFFORD.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 1st February, 1898, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

JOSEPH OFFORD: "Roman Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War."

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1897.

1897.	Dr.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance in hand				65	19	2
	,, Subscriptions—	£	s.	d.			
	For the Year 1897 ...	337	19	8			
	,, Arrears from former years	45	19	11			
	,, Payments in advance	15	15	0			
					399	14	7
	,, Donations				204	16	0
	,, Donation of Illustrations, Mr. E. J. Pilcher				1	4	5
	,, Sales of Transactions, &c.				55	14	3
	,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. 2¾% Consols				3	8	0
	,, Rent, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897 ...				90	0	0
					£820	16	5
1898.							
Jan 1.	,, Balance brought forward				103	13	6

1897.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Expenditure to date, viz.:—			
	,, Rent	125	0	0
	,, Rates, Taxes, 1897...	57	10	0
	,, Printing Proceedings, etc....	350	17	11
	,, Engraving, etc.	15	12	0
	,, Subscriptions to Foreign Journals ...	21	14	8
	,, Secretary on Account	25	0	0
	,, Stationery, Office Expenses, etc.	12	9	6
	,, Furniture and Repairs	50	4	3
	,, Official Auditor's Fee	2	2	0
	,, Postage	9	18	10
	,, Housekeeper	24	0	0
	,, Fire Insurance	4	11	6
	,, Advertising	15	14	10
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		£820	16	5

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Printing Proceedings and Transactions, 1893.

Audited and found correct, 8th January, 1898,

E. C. HULME.
W. J. HAYWOOD.

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.,
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VOL. XX. TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, February 1st, 1898.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

Second Meeting, 1*st February*, 1898.

Rev. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A., Member of Council,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, Rev. Dr. Albert Löwy :—The Measure of our Days. A tri-lingual song, dedicated to his friends on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday. (December 8th, 1856.) 8vo. London. 1897.

From the Author, F. Ll. Griffith :—Wills in Ancient Egypt. London. 8vo. 1898. *Law Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1898.

From the Author, Professor G. Maspero :—Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos. (1896–1897.) 8vo. Paris. 1898. *Revue Critique*, Déc., 1897.

From the Author, Rev. C. de Cara, S. J. :—Gli Hethei-pelasgi in Italia, Gl' Italici nella paletnologia Italiana. 8vo. *Civilta Cattolica*, Jan., 1898.

From the Editor, Dr. Paul Haupt :—Prospectus, with Specimen, Illustrations, Notes, etc., of the Polychrome Bible, being the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments; a new English Translation, printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure of the Books. New York. 8vo.

From the Editor :—Orientalislische Litteratur-Zeitung, Herausgegeben von F. E. Peiser. Berlin. 4to. 1. Jahrgang, No. 1. 15 Januar, 1898.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 11th January, 1898.

Nils Sïoberg, Victoria Museum, Upsala.
Mrs. Lane, Dangstein, Petersfield.
Rev. Joseph Heyes, Beuel bei Bonn, Germany.
Walter Tomlinson, M.A., Ashley Gardens, Victoria Street, Westminster.

Mr. Joseph Offord read a paper entitled, "Roman Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War."

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Mr. Hallett, Mr. Gilbert Highton, Rev. Dr. Löwy, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO HADRIAN'S JEWISH WAR.

By Joseph Offord.

Some seventeen years ago M. Arsène Darmesteter* illustrated how much light Roman and Greek inscriptions throw upon the history of Palestine in the early centuries of our era. A considerable portion of his monograph was devoted to showing how serious a menace the revolt of Bar Cochba was to the Roman power; and by means of epigraphic materials he proved to use his own words, that to suppress this insurrection Hadrian employed "*at least*" three legions, the III Gallica, III Cyrenaica, and IV Sythica, a cohort, the IV Lingons, a vexillatio of the X Gemina, and a part of the Syrian fleet.† These troops, he assumes, amounted, omitting the fleet, to approximately 22,000 to 23,000 men.

He proved the presence in the campaign of the III Gallica by the inscription of T. Camuleius;‡ that of the III Cyrenaica by an inscription of its centurion, Caius Popilius Carus Pedo;§ that of the IV Lingonum by that of a prefect, A. M. Statius;‖ that of, probably, a vexillatio of the X Gemina by the inscription of Sextus Attius Senecio,¶ one of its tribunes; and that of the Syrian fleet by an Algerian text relating to a prefect serving on it, A. Sextus Cornelius Dexter.** He considered the fact of the IV Sythica taking part in the war as evidenced by the Ancyra inscription of Tiberius Severus.††

* *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. I, pp. 40–56.

† He also thought a Pretorian cohort was at the war as escort to Hadrian himself.

‡ *Orelli*, 3571.

§ *Orelli*, Heuzen, 6501. Also a text of another centurion, C. Nummius Constans. *Orelli*, 832.

‖ *C.I.L.*, VI, No. 1523.

¶ *C.I.L.*, VI, No. 3505.

** L. Renier, *Inscriptions de l'Algerie*, 3518.

†† Boeckh, *Cor. Ins. Graecarum*, No. 4033, and its presence in Judea under Trajan is stated in Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 468.

The text of Sextus Senecio might be interpreted as meaning that he, though its tribune, commanded a vexillatio not of the X Gemina but a detachment of some other troops. If it was a part of his own legion, they hurried to the conflict from near Vienna, as mentioned by M. Darmesteter, but, as will presently be seen, this was not an unparalleled step in the conduct of this campaign. Since M. Darmesteter published his researches a number of newly-found inscriptions have corroborated his conclusions, and more especially recently a military diploma has been presented to the Louvre, and described by M. Heron de Villefosse, which throws an amount of new historical information upon the subject, confirming and intensifying M. Darmesteter's statements in a remarkable manner.

It is now therefore opportune to again sum up the epigraphic evidence relating to Bar Cochba's revolt and its suppression. Dealing primarily with corps mentioned by M. Darmesteter, and turning first to references to the Legion III Cyrenaica, we now know, from an inscription of the time of Domitian found at Coptos by Petrie, it was in Egypt in A.D 90,* but an inscription found at the south gate of Jerusalem shows a vexillatio of the legion was in Judea under Trajan. The text extended is as follows—

IOVI . O . M : SARAPIDI . PRO . SALVTE . ET . VICTORIA . IMPERATOR . NERVAE . TRAIAN . CAESARIS . OPTVMM . AVGVST . GERMANICI . DACICI . PARTHICI . ET . POPVLI . ROMANI . VEXILLATIO . LEGEONIS III CYRENAICAE . FECIT .†

From this it follows that a vexillatio of the legion was at the city before A.D. 116, because the inscription gives Parthici as a title of Trajan, it therefore also was at, or near, Jerusalem previous to the rebuilding of the city by Hadrian. It would appear thus that the legion was employed in the Bar Cochba campaign because it was in cantonments in Palestine, and it is not one of the corps sent from other parts of the empire specially to suppress the revolt.‡

Though no further corroborative text has been found, a perusal

* Sayce, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1885, p. 170, published an inscription of the III Cyrenaica, found at This; it was a reference to a soldier named Cumirius Fuscus.

† *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1895, p. 25.

‡ Also the following text of Dometius Alexander, centurion of the III Cyr., found at Madaba. *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 591 : Γάϊον, Δομίτιον Ἀλέξανδρον (χεντυρίωνα) λεγ(εῶνος) γ' χυρ(ηναϊ χῆς) ἡ πόλις εὐνοίας καὶ ἁγνείας χάριν.

of the inscription of A. M. Statius shows conclusively that soldiers of the IV Lingons were at this war.* An inscription recently disinterred at Wallsend, however, may throw some light upon the subject. It runs thus: "Jovi Optimo Maximo cohort IIII Lingonum equitata."† This station of Wallsend is on the line of Hadrian's wall. Now we know from Dion Cassius, that an officer named Severus‡ was selected by Hadrian to conduct the Jewish campaign, though Dion confuses him with one Tiberius Severus, a governor of Syria and legate of the IV Sythica legion. But the great *cursus honorum* of Julius Severus, governor of Britain, proves it was he who was the general, and hence it is extremely probable that with him as escort from Britain came the cohort of the IV Lingons in which Statius served. By a military diploma found at Chester we know the IV Lingons (or part of them) were on the wall at the time of Antoninus Pius about A.D. 146.§

Of the III Gallica I have been unable to find any confirmatory text. In A.D. 199 a detachment entitled Veterana Gallica was at Alexandria, see Eg. Ex. Fund, *Tanis*, vol. II, p. 98.

It is strange that M. Darmesteter did not include among the forces employed under the command of Julius Severus the X Legion Fretensis, because in the inscription of A. C. P. Carus Pedo, centurion of the III Cyrenaica, the X Fretensis is mentioned. Moreover, there was abundant evidence proving that this legion was in Judea from the time of Titus to that of Gordian III.‖ Under Caracalla and Elagabalus it, in honor of these emperors, assumed the additional designation of Antonianiana, whilst as memorial of its

* The portion of the inscription of A. M. Statius relating directly to his presence in Palestine is as follows: "Marco Statio Marci filio, praefecto cohortis IIII Lingonum vexillo militari donato a divo Hadriano in expeditione judaica."

† *Revue Archéologique*, 1892, vol. 2, p. 401.

‡ Darmesteter, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1880, p. 42.

§ The I and II Lingones were also at times in Britain. Although Tacitus tells us Otho "Lingonibus universis civitatem romanam dedit," I believe no text adding "civium Romanorum" has been found of these troops.

‖ That the X Fretensis was in the Jewish campaign of Titus, apart from the statement of Josephus, is settled by an inscription (quoted here because not cited by M. Darmesteter) of A. Larcius Lepidus:

LEGatus X FRETENS donato DONIS MILITARIBus aB . IMP . VESPASIANO CAESARe Augusto et T . CAESARE AVG . F . BELLO IVDAICO CORONA MVRALI &c.

See L. Renier, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 1867, p. 269.

fidelity to Gordian in the struggle between him and Maximian it had bestowed upon it the new title of Gordiana.*

In 1891 a text was found at the Jaffa gate of Jerusalem as follows—

MARCI IVNIO MAXIMO AVGVSTI LEGATO LEGEO X FRETENSIS†

In 1895 M. Germer Durand found a milestone near Jericho with a mutilated inscription which, by means of the Jaffa gate text, he restores to a very similar form.‡ A text bearing the letters L . X . F (legio X fretensis) has been found on the Mount of Olives,§ and a mosaic at Jerusalem itself has bricks stamped L , X , F . .‖ But we have positive epigraphic proof of this legion taking part in the campaign, as the following inscriptions show.¶

V. S . . D Filius
OCTAVIVS SECVNDVS CYRIBVS
SABatina tribu. &c. &c.
TRIB EV . AVGO LEGEO X
FRETENSIS DONIS DON
AB DIVO HADRIAN OB
BELL . IVDAICVM CORONA.
AVREA TORQVIB . ARMILLIS
PHALER ET . AB EODEM
PROMOTVS SVCCES IN LEGEO
PRIMM ITALIC &c. &c.

and

Q . ROSCIO . SEX . F . QVI . COELIO . POMEIO FALCONI
DECEMVIRO STILItibus TVDICANDIS . TRIB . MIL .
LEGio X FREtensis QVAESTORI . TRIB . PLEB .
PR . INTER CIVes et PEREGRINOS LEG . AVG
LEGeo V MACEDonic LEGeo AVG . PR . PR . PROVIN .

* See Clermont Ganneau, *Revue Archéologique*, 1896, p. 346, who shows that Conder, *Survey of Palestine*, vol. I, gives an inscription as relating to Ulpia Gordiana, mother of Gordian, which really relates not to her, but to the "X Fretensis Gordiana" legion.

† Cagnat, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1892.

‡ *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 69.

§ *Palestine Exploration Fund Reports*, 1889, p. 172.

‖ *Palestine Exploration Fund Reports*, 1891, p. 419.

¶ This centurion's inscription may be found in *Revue Archéologique*, 1888, p. 256.

LYCIAE ET PAMPHYLIAE LEC . AVG . LEG . X
FRETensis . ET . LEG . PR . PR . PROVINCIAE
IVDAE CONSVLARIS XV VIRO SACRIS
FACIVNDIS . CVRATOR VIAE TRAIANAE &c. &c.*

In estimating the total number of troops to be added to the sum given by M. Darmesteter, doubtless the total strength of the X Fretensis legion should be included. This may be disputed, because Mommsen has proved that after Vespasian there was some official connection between the African and Syrian armies, and inscriptions have been found in Africa relating to soldiers belonging to legions serving in Syria. For instance, a detachment of the VI Ferrata whose quarters, after Hadrian's reign, were in Syria, were at Mount Aures in Numidia,† and a soldier of the III Cyrenaica was buried at Mila in Algeria.‡ These apparently are only sporadic instances. It is not thus, however, with the Syrian legion, the III Gallica, for it seems to have regularly given reinforcements to the III Augusta, an African legion. Certainly inscriptions definitely assert this. At Lambesia one reads, "Miles legiones III Augusta ex III Gallica."§ Another speaks of a soldier as "contributus ex legione III Gallica in legionem tertiam Augustam."‖ Another is as follows—

C IVLIVS VALENS . VETERANVS NATIONE SVRVS .
PROBATVS IN III GALLICA MISSVS DE LEGIONE
III AVGVSTA.¶

Lastly this may be quoted—

LEG . III AVG . SEVERIAE TRANSLATVS EX LEG . III GALLIC.**

There is one text found in Italy, and in 1895 presented to the Museum, at Diocletian's Baths, which does apparently associate the X Fretensis with Africa. It reads as follows: "Publilio Lucii filio Fabia (or Falerna) Memoriali praefecto fabrum praefecto cohortis tertiae Cyrenaicae saggittariorum tribuna militum legionis decimae Fretensis praefecto gentes Numidarum dilietatori tironum ex Numidia

* This text, which is thought to be about A.D. 117 to 120, is in *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, p. 265.

† Boissier, *L'Algerie Romaine*, tome 2, p. 391, and *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, 2490 and 10,230.

‡ Boissier, *ibid.*, p, 392.

§ *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, 304.

‖ *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, 3113.

¶ *Ibid.*, 4310.

** *Ibid.*, 2904.

lectorum legionum Augustae in Africa item . . . . . ae . . . . . item . . . . Ferratae."

It may be argued that the career of Publilius here set forth was an African one, and his services under the eagle of the X Fretensis must therefore have been with a vexilla of that corps in Africa.

But it is more reasonable to explain his history in accordance with Mommsen's view, and to look upon his career in the X Fretensis in Syria as being, because of the official linking of the two armies, as a natural stepping-stone to an appointment in Africa. It is true he was surveyor for the levies for the VI Ferrata, an Asiatic legion, as well as the African III Augusta, but upon the Roman principle of sending legionaries to serve in countries other than those of their enrollment; and again bearing in mind Mommsen's dictum, there is no reason to think that any considerable body of the VI Ferrata was in Africa.

As final epigraphic evidence concerning the X Fretensis, the following text from Samaria, which may be dated approximately 160 A.D., and therefore subsequent to Bar Cochba's defeat, may be cited.*

IMP . CAES . TRAIANO HADRIANO AVG . PATRI
PATRIAE LEGIO X FRETensis COHORS I .

The text given by M. Darmesteter relating to the X Gemina runs as follows: "Sextus Attius Senecio praefectus alae i flaviae Gaetulorum, tribunus legionis X Geminae, emissus a divi Hadriano in expeditione Judaica ad vexillationes deducendus in . . . . ."†

This does not definitely prove that the detachment was from the Gemina legion, which was just before on the Danube, but another monument of Hadrian's reign shows us three vexillationes millaria, viz. of 1,000 men, of three separate legions employed in the British war; these were from the VII Gemina in Spain, the VIII Augusta and XXII‡ Primigenia, both in Upper Germany. We know that in the Judaic war of 85–6 A.D., one cohort of the Augustan Pretorian Lusitanians came from Central Europe to Palestine.§

That for this very campaign troops were fetched from Central Europe is, moreover, proved by a recent discovery beyond a doubt.

* *Revue Archéologique*, 1894, p. 393.
† *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, VI, No. 3505.
‡ Boissier, *L'Algerie Romaine*, p. 391.
§ L. Renier, *Diplomes Militaires*, p. 144.

In 1894, M. Clermont Ganneau described a new text found at Bether, the modern Bettir, the focus of Bar Cochba's rebellion, and site of its fall.* The inscription consists of only five or six lines but it mentions the names of two centurions commanding detachments of the V Macedonian and XI† Claudian legions. These troops must have been drafted from the quarters of these two legions, which were at this time situated in camps far away upon the banks of the Danube. After being brought to Palestine because of the serious nature of the revolt, and assisting in Bar Cochba's defeat,

* Bettir is still called by the Arabs "Khurbet el Yahoud."

† A military diploma, found at Slatina in 1892, mentions the XI Claudia as taking part in the Dacian war; see *Revue Archéologique*, vol. XX, p. 375. The following testimony from Braila on the Danube may be cited: "D. M. Valerio Thiumpo qui militant Leg(io) XI Claudio lectus in sacro comitatu lanciarius," &c.

With regard to the station from which the V Macedonica was fetched, the following inscription from Troesmis in the Dobrudscha is sufficient: "Pro salute Imperatoris Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti: Gaio Valerio Pudente veterano legionis quintae Macedonicae, et Marco Ulpio Leontio magistris canabensium et Tucco Aelio aedilibus dono dederunt veterani et cives Romani consistentes ad canabas, legionis quintae Macedonicae."

That lower Moesia was practically the legion's home, to which it therefore returned (after serving in Palestine) before A.D. 161, is indicated by this text. "Pro salute Imperatorum Antonini et Veri Augustorum legiones V Macedonicae, Iallii Bassi legati Augustorum propraetore Martii Veri legati Augustorum," &c., &c. (This Iallius Bassus was, or later became, a Christian, for De Rossi, *Roma Sotterana*, quotes this inscription: "Ialliae, Jullii Bassi et Catiae Clementinae filiae, piissimae matri Clementinae in pace. Aelius Clemens filius. Viventio Dulcissimo.")

The legion was still in Moesia when the supplemental information was added to our text of the Antonine Itinary, but under Septimus Severus it was in Dacia about A.D. 191. Its career to this date is mentioned because a most interesting epigraphic coincidence with these historical data concerning the Roman troops in Palestine in 134 to 140 A.D., is afforded by a text of a centurion named Claudius. He died aged 56, whilst on the *rôle* of the V Macedonica when it was stationed at Troesmis, therefore previous (probably long previous) to A.D. 191.

The inscription is as follows: "Tiberius Claudius, Tiberii filius, Quirina, Ulpianus, domo Laodiceae Syriae, centurio legionis decimae Geminae, et quartae Flaviae, et duodecimae Fulminatae, et tertiae Cyrenaicae et decimae Fretensis et secundae Adiutrecis, et quintae Macedonicae. Vixit annis quinquaginta sex. Heres secundus faciendum curavit." It will be seen that, though a native of Syria, his career commenced in three legions we know were on the Upper Danube. He then went to Cappadocia to the Fulminata legion, and thence for some military necessity, which can now easily be surmised, he served in Syria or Palestine, in the III Cyrenaica and X Fretensis. Finally returning to Europe to the eagles of the Adiutrix in Pannonia and the V Macedonica in Moesia; *vide* L. Renier, "Inscriptions de Troesmis," *Revue Archéologique*, 1863, p. 424.

they remained in garrison at Bether, for as pointed out by M. Clermont Ganneau it is a post of great strategic importance, as it commands the road from Jerusalem to the Mediterranean.* He also, in his monograph, associated with this inscription another relating to a soldier of the Macedonian legion, who with his comrades was stationed at Emmaus (Nicopolis); this garrison also being supplied for a strategic reason and acting as duplicate in military value to the force at Bether, Emmaus dominating the route from Jerusalem to Jaffa.†

Considerable as is the information concerning the military resources called upon by Trajan for this Jewish war, which has been gathered from a variety of inscriptions as mentioned at the commencement of this summary, it altogether falls short of the immense amount of new evidence condensed into one single inscription recently found in the Hauran.‡ This is a military diploma of one Gaius of the II Galatian cohort, who obtained his discharge in A.D. 139 under P. Calpurnius Atilianus, a successor of Julius Severus. This text, as will be seen, gives, to be added to the Roman army list, the names of three cavalry wings and no less than twelve cohorts, not one corps among the list being either the same as those enumerated by MM. Darmesteter or Clermont Ganneau.

H. Heron de Villefosse, who published this diploma, also notes that he believes that nine of the names for the various bodies of troops are new.

"Imperator Caesar divi Hadriani filius, divi Traiani Parthici nepos divi Nervae pronepos, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate II consul II designatus III pater patriae.

"Equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis III et cohortibus XII quae appellantur Gallorum et Thracum, et Antoniniana Gallorum et VII Phrygum, et I Thracum Miliaria et I Sebastenorum Miliaria et I Damascenorum et I Montanorum et I Flavia Civium

* The V Macedonica had been in Judea previously and taken part in the war under Titus. A new inscription confirmatory of this was found at Amwas (Emmaus) in 1896. It runs as follows: "C. Vibius Firmus, miles legionis quintae Macedonicae, centuriae Pollionis, beneficiarius militavit annis duodeviginti, vixit annis quadrigenta, hic situs est," &c., &c. Its date is approximately A.D. 68–70.

† *Séance* of the Académie des Inscriptions, Jan. 19, 1894.

‡ *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 602.

Romanorum et I et II Galatarum et III et IIII Bracarum* et IIII et VI Petraeorum† et V Gemina civium Romanorum, et sunt in Syria Palaestina sub Calpurnio Atiliano, quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas. a. d x. k dec., Marco Ceccio Justino, Gaio Julio Basso consulibus cohortis II Ulpiae Galatarum cui praest Quintus Flavius, Quinti filius, Palatina tribu, Amatianus, Capua, ex pedite Gaio, Luccii filio Nicia."

Of the cavalry or cohorts enumerated in this document whose titles were previously known, M. Heron de Villefosse mentions that the VII Phrygum is spoken of in *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, vol. VI, No. 1838, and the I Thracum Miliaria in *Corpus Ins. Graec.*, No. 3132. A I Thracum Victrix and a I Thracum Civium Romanorum were in Pannonia under Antoninus Pius;‡ one of these may be identical with the I Thracum of a Dacian diploma of A.D. 86, whose inscription is connected with the Judean army§ and which M. Villefosse suggests is the same as the I Thracum Miliaria.‖

A Prefectus of the I Damascenorum is recorded in Egypt in A.D. 135, and a Miliaria I Flavia Damascenorum was on the Rhenish Roman wall in 86 A.D. M. de Villefosse expands BR into Bracarum, and tells us that in A.D. 166 it was in Rhetia.¶ But if this is the same corps as that M. de Ceulener, in his work upon a diploma of Trajan,** expands into Bracaraugustenorum, it was in Britain about A.D. 103.†† A (III) BRAC(arum) is recorded in the Cilurnum (Chesters) diploma of Antoninus Pius, so that about 146 A.D. these troops were again in Britain.‡‡ It has already been mentioned that the IV Lingons were among the British garrison soon after the Judean campaign, and it would seem as if the III Bracarum

* Bracaraugustanorum (?).
† Petriana (?).
‡ See diploma found near Komorn.
§ Diploma at Neckarburken; see *Revue Archéologique*, 1893.
‖ See *Constitutiones Veternanorum*, No. 19.
¶ *Ibid.*, No. 73.
** *Notice sur un Diplome Militaire de Trajan trouvé aux environs de Liége.*
†† *Constitutiones Veternanorum;* see Diploma No. 21.
‡‡ Scarth, *Roman Britain*, p. 253.

was also connected with the army of Britain, from whose command Julius Severus came to Palestine for the war.

M. de Villefosse enlarges the title of the two cohorts III and VI PETR into "Petraeorum," probably his erudition affording him good cause for so doing, but it is interesting to note that a cavalry corps ALAE PETR, which has hitherto been expanded into "Petriana," is well known in British inscriptions. Its full title, if correctly amplified from the Stannington diploma,* is Ala Augusta Petriana Torquata Miliaria Civium Romanorum, and upon the Hexham stone simply "ALAE PETR." These texts were enlarged to Petriana with the idea that the Ala's name was derived from the Roman wall station of Petriana near Birdoswald. If these "PETR" cohorts should be read Petriana they may also be from Britain.

M. Héron de Villefosse says the I Montanorum were in Pannonia both before and after this Jewish war, and that the IV Bracarum were already known from a text as follows: PRAEF. COHORT IIII. BRACARVM IN IVDAEA.† Of the cohort I. SEB. miliaria no other record is known, but an Ala, the "Sebastenae Severianae," is mentioned in an inscription at Cherchell,‡ and these Sebasteni horsemen are found recorded in other Mauretanian texts.

Although this enumeration of the Roman legionaries and auxiliaries employed in the suppression of this Jewish revolt has doubtless been very imperfectly performed, yet enough evidence has been obtained to indicate that M. Darmesteter very much underestimated the total of the forces which were finally employed. The number must have been nearer 50,000 than 25,000 men, if not considerably more. Indeed, it is a little strange that he should have assumed the smaller number sufficient to crush a rebellion having attained the dangerous proportions Dion Cassius informs us this one had done. It is to be hoped that evidence from inscriptions that have escaped notice in this paper may be adduced by readers thereof to further elucidate the matter.

If, as seems possible, there is any validity in the suggestion that many of the reinforcements accompanying the British commander Severus, were portions of corps usually quartered in Britain, or consisted of troops from the continental recruiting bases which, in

* *Arch. Aeliana*, 1882, p. 167.

† *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, vol. VIII, No. 7079. The text is from Constantine.

‡ See *Revue Archéologique*, 1894.

the ordinary course, would have been sent to join their comrades in military cantonments in Britain, it is an interesting fact upon which more information would be welcome.*

* Dr. R. Blair, of Shields, has kindly given me the following references for British troops alluded to. *Lapidarum Septen*, Ala Petriana, p. 7, and Nos. 4[illegible]2 and 794; Coh. I Lingonum, p. 5, Nos. 686, 699 and 700; II Lingonum, pp. 5, 7, and No. 911; IIII Lingonum, p. 4, and No. 1. In *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, vol. VII, Coh. III Bracaraugustanoram, Nos. 1193 and 1195; I Lingons, Nos. 32, 433, 445, 446, 450, 1041, 1194; II Lingons, Nos. 208, 209, 359, 1195; III Lingons, Nos. 493–1193; Ala Petriana. Nos. 323, 872, 929 and 1195.

The important portions of the *cursus honorum* of Severus are as follows :—

"Sex Vinicio Faustino Julio Sergio Severo legato pro praetore provinciae Brittaniae legato propraetore provinciae Judeae legato pro pretore provinciae Suriae. Huic Senatus auctore imperatore Trajano Hadriano Aug. ornamenta triumphalia decrevit ob res in Judea prospere gestas decurionum decreto."

The remainder of this text, and the many others quoted by M. Darmesteter, should be referred to for full particulars of this war.

ABRAHAM AND THE LAND OF HIS NATIVITY.

By Hormuzd Rassam.

Read, 1st June, 1897.

There have been from time to time conflicting opinions and theories, both ancient and modern, regarding the historical site of "Ur of the Chaldees," the supposed birth-place of Abraham, especially since the discovery of some cuneiform inscriptions in the ruins of Moggayir, at the extreme end of Southern Mesopotomia, wherein, it is alleged, the name of *Ur* occurs, and which a number of Assyrian scholars construed into that celebrated ancient site, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, that I have taken upon myself the task of contesting its existence anywhere in that region. The world knows nothing of Abraham except what can be gathered of his history from the Bible, and it is therefore necessary to go to that Book for any authentic information about him and his fatherland.

In quoting different passages from Holy Writ in support of my argument, I beg to point out, in the first place, that I do not do so on religious ground, as my purpose is simply to show the historical aspect of the question in dispute, and not to prove my contention from a theological standpoint. Secondly, as I am not an Assyrian scholar, and incompetent, therefore, to decide how certain signs and figures in the arrow-headed writing ought to be read and pronounced, I must not touch upon their interpretation, as I might fall into a woeful dilemma, and incur the odium of being too inquisitive. But I want to touch briefly upon the danger of trusting to theories regarding the meaning of Semitic words in use even at the present day among the Arabs, Chaldeans, and Syrians.

There are perhaps more than five hundred millions of Christians, Moslems, and Jews, who only know of the existence of Abraham from the Bible, and we ought therefore to be guided by what is recorded therein of him and the land of his nativity, and let that history speak for itself.

In Genesis (xi, 31), where we first learn of Abraham's country, it is said: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there." In the first verse of the following chapter it is related: "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee." We must assume, therefore, that Haran was the country of Abraham, the same as any Englishman, being destined to change his abode to France from London and moves in the first place to Dover, could safely assert that the latter place was part and parcel of his country. In the fifth verse it is recorded that: "Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came." Then in the ninth verse of the same chapter it is said: "And Abram journeyed. going on still toward the south." Now no one can doubt that Haran is situated in Northern Mesopotamia, about 450 miles above Babylon, and not less than 600 from Moggayir. How is it then when Abraham was commanded to go to Canaan, which is about 550 miles to the west, that Terah, with all his great retinue, should go nearly 400 miles out of his way for Abraham to reach the promised land, which was to the south-west? It has been urged by different writers upon the subject of Abraham's emigration that the route was chosen for convenience; but those who advocate this theory are not aware that to take that course from the situation of Moggayir is anything but the right one, if they had examined the country properly between the latter place and the Holy Land. Abraham could have easily marched straight to Palestine from Moggayir through a country which has neither hills nor rivers to impede his passage, the same as the nomad Arabs move from place to place at the present day with all their substance. I have no doubt that the four confederate kings who invaded Sodom and carried Lot captive, whom Abraham afterwards rescued, had followed the same track from Southern Mesopotamia. Those who dispute the position of Padan-aram as being the native country of Abraham, ought, I think, to show in the first instance a good reason for the object of Terah going such a distance out of his way to

sojourn at Haran, if it had not been a city with which he had a previous acquaintance from its proximity to Ur of the Chaldees. Moreover, I do not know why Terah should choose Haran as his future home from such a distance as Moggayir, where he would be looked upon as a stranger. But as I believe that Terah went from a place which must have been somewhere at or near the present city of Orfa, in Northern Mesopotamia, known to the Hebrews as Aram-Naharaim, it was not extraordinary that Abraham should call Haran his country when he sent his servant Eliezer thither to fetch a wife for his son Isaac. All references made in the Bible about Abraham point to his country as being in Aram-Naharaim, and this name must not be confounded with the Greek appellation of *Mesopotamia*, as the former applies only, according to the Hebrew geographical positions, to that part of Northern Mesopotamia which embraces the province of Orfa, the ancient Eddesa; whereas the latter is a Greek word which takes in the whole valley of the Euphrates and Tigris from Diarbekir to the junction of the two rivers, two hundred miles below Babylon. The mistake began by the authors of the Septuagint, as the first mention of Aram-Naharaim was in the 24th chapter of Genesis, when, as I said before, Abraham sent Eliezer thither on an errand to his relatives at Haran, and said to him: "But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac." Aram-Naharaim was also the country of Balaam;* and we find that it had a king in those days named Chushanrishathaim, mentioned in Judges.† Surely no one can ever imagine that this Aram-Naharaim was in Southern Babylonia, near the Persian Gulf? We find also that Joshua in speaking to the tribes ot Israel,‡ he told them that their forefathers "dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor." This allusion also points to that part of the Euphrates in the northern part of Mesopotamia, which is verified by what Moses said in Deuteronomy of Jacob's nationality as an Aramee.§ This in my opinion proves more than anything else that Abraham's family came from the neighbourhood of Haran, at the upper part of the Euphrates, and not the lower; and it is remarkable that both Balaam‖ and Hosea¶ mention that part of Mesopotamia merely as

* Numbers xxiii, 7; see also Deut. xxiii, 4.
† Judges iii, 8. ‡ Joshua xxiv, 2. § Chapter xxvi, 5.
‖ Numbers xxiii, 7. ¶ Hosea xii, 12.

ארם Aram, though in the authorized English version of the Old Testament the former is rendered *Aram*, and the latter *Syria*; but in the revised version both are called *Aram*. Why the Greeks corrupted the Semitic word Aram into Syria, and Aramaic into Syriac is a mystery.

There were formerly no less than five Arams existing on the east and west of the Euphrates, namely, Aram of Damascus (kingdom of the so-called Syria); Aram-Naharaim (Northern Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Khaboor, or Chebar river); Aram-padan (which means arable land, where Terah and his family lived); Aram-Zobah (Province of Aleppo); and Aram-Rehob, the district of Hamath, bordering on the Mediterranean as far as Latakia. It may be that as the Greeks corrupted the word *Assyrian* into Syrian, thus confounding different nationalities with this misnomer, which has no connexion whatever with the original, either in sound or etymology. It is a pity the revisers of the Old Testament did not correct all the words into Aram which were erroneously translated formerly into Syria, as they did in some cases already alluded to above.

Orfa, where the dreadful massacres took place among the Armenians some time ago, is believed by all learned Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians of that country to have been the "Ur of the Chaldees" mentioned in Scripture. Being so near Haran, and commanding an important position in that part of Mesopotamia, it was most probably, in olden times, as it is now, the capital of Padan-Aram. It might have been called then Oor, as it is in the original Hebrew and Aramaic. It is very striking that in the ancient Padan-Aram we have at the present day three positions near each other in Aram-Naharaim that are called by three biblical names, which are Orfa, Haran, and Serug, styled in Arabic Serooj, the hard *g* having changed into *j*, as there is no letter as the former in Arabic. The difficulty has arisen from the supposed non-existence of such a country as Chaldea in Northern Mesopotamia; as it had been taken for granted that such a realm was only in a small part in Southern Mesopotamia, between Babylon and the Persian Gulf! But if we refer to Grecian history we shall find that the Chaldeans were mentioned inhabiting different parts of the range of mountains between the Mediterranean and Persia. Moreover, *Ur of the Chaldees* does not necessarily mean Ur in Chaldea, but it may signify the Ur of the Chaldeans, like we may now style

Algeria as of France, though it is in Africa and not in Europe, or Aden of the English though it is in Arabia and not in England. The words "Ur of the Chaldees" show, however, that there were other Urs existing at the time in Biblical lands, like Bethlehem of Judah, and Bethlehem of Zebalon; and Cush * (Ethopia) of Asia Minor, and Cush † of Africa. It is very interesting to note that in the Chaldee or Aramaic language Jerusalem is called ירושלם, Oor-Shalem, that is to say, Oor of Selim, like אור כשדים, Oor, d'Chaldaye, or Oor of the Chaldees. We find also that that northern part of Mesopotamia called by the Hebrews Aram-Naharaim, is styled by the Prophet Ezekiel as the land of the Chaldeans,‡ as the river Chebar (in Arabic Khaboor) is one of the rivers which surround Padan-Aram mentioned above. St. Stephen also mentions, in Acts vii, 4, that Abraham came out of the "land of the Chaldeans" when he was in *Aram-Naharaim*. There could have been no better word applied to that country as the *Arable* Aram, from the richness of its soil and extent of its cereal production. Its annual export of corn to Europe, even now, when a small part of the land is cultivated, is very great. As for the position of the town of Orfa, it is one of the most picturesque in Mesopotamia; and had it a better and more energetic Government, its province might have vied in beauty and importance with the most flourishing regions in the world. The town is situated on an eminence, with a large number of rivulets running in all directions, and commanding extensive fertile plains stretching far and wide. Its produce of fruit and cereals might prove a source of incalculable riches, especially if railway communication could be established between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, through the Euphrates and Tigris Valley. A large extent of land in front of the town is studded with private and public gardens; and within the city itself there are a large number of well to do families, who have their houses surrounded with arbours and orchards.

I think it will not be uninteresting to quote some passages from different writers, both ancient and modern, regarding the Ur of the Chaldees mentioned in Scripture, and leave it to painstaking critics to draw their conclusion therefrom. I must begin first with the ancient historians, who are supposed to claim a better authority

* Genesis ii, 13. † 2 Kings xix, 9. ‡ Ezekiel i, 3.

than modern scholars and travellers, they having lived nearer the time of Biblical sages.

Eupolemus says, that in the "tenth generation [after the Flood], in the city of Babylonia, called Camarina (which, by some, is called the city Urie, and which signifies a city of the Chaldeans), there lived, the thirteenth in descent (a man named), Abraham, a man of a noble race and superior to all others in wisdom. Of him they relate that he was the inventor of astrology and the Chaldean magic, and that on account of his eminent piety he was esteemed by God. It is further said that, under the directions of God, he removed and lived in Phœnicia, and there taught the Phœnicians the motions of the sun and moon, and all other things; for which reason he was held in great reverence by their king." *

Nicolas of Damascus says thus of Abraham: "Abram was king of Damascus, and came thither as a stranger, with an army, from that part of the country which is situated above Babylon of the Chaldeans. But after a short time he again emigrated from this region with his people, and transferred his dwelling to the land which was at that time called Canaaea, but is now called Judea; together with all the multitude which had increased with him, of whose history I shall give an account in another book. The name of Abram is well known even to this day in Damascus, and a village is pointed out which is still called the House of Abraham." †

This writer makes the emigration of Abraham to have been from *above* Babylon, and not from *below* it, where Moggayir is situated: but Justin, on the authority of Trogus Pompeius, makes a more startling statement in regard to the Jews' origin by fixing it at Damascus in Syria, and he goes so far as to allege that even the Assyrian kings and Semiramis had sprung from that Syrian region! ‡

Jacob Bryant in his "Ancient Mythology" advocates Southern Babylonia as the land of Abraham's nativity; and as he gives an interesting account of the different historical theories regarding the whereabouts of the Ur of the Chaldees, I cannot do better than quote what he adduces for and against his contention. He says: 'Before I proceed, it may not be improper to obviate an objection, which may be made to the place, and region, where I have supposed Abraham to have been first conversant; as there are writers who

* Abimelech, king of Gerar. Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 77.
† Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 78.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

have imagined Ur of Chaldea to have been in another part of the world. The region in question is by Strabo plainly defined as a province of Babylonia: and Arrian, Ptolemy, Dionysius, Pliny, and Marcellinus all determine its situation so clearly, thought no doubt could have arisen. It appears, however, that Bochart, Grotius, Le Clerc, Cellarius, with some others, are dissatisfied with the common opinion, and cannot be persuaded that Abraham came from this country. Bochart accordingly tells us that the Ur of the Scriptures was near Nisibis, in the upper regions of Assyria, and bordered upon Armenia. . . . . This is surely too lightly determined. All that we learn from Marcellinus is, that they passed by a castle called Ur. Not a word is there mentioned about a region called Chaldea, nor of a people styled Chaldeans, which was necessary to be found. Yet the learned writer says, res patet, *we may be assured* that here was the birth of the Patriarch: and the original place of his residence was near Nisibis. In another part of his work he mentions a place called Ur, near Syria, upon the Euphrates, of which notice is taken by Pliny, and he seems to think it not improbable that here might have been the first abode of Abraham. From hence we may perceive that he was not very determinate in his opinion. Edessa is said to have been called Ur and Urhoë, on which account some have been induced to place the birth and residence of the Patriarch here. But who ever heard of Chaldeans in these parts, or of a region named Chaldea?

"If there be anything certain in geography, we may be assured, from a number of the best writers, that the country of which we are treating was in a different part of the world. Chaldea lay to the south of Babylonia, and was originally bounded to the east and west by the Tigris and Euphrates, so that it was an interamnian region. Hence Joshua tells the children of Israel, in speaking of the first residence of their ancestors, that their *fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood*, or river, *in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham.* And St. Stephen, speaking of the call of this Patriarch, says: *The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* The land of Chaldea was in those times a portion of the great region called Mesopotamia, and, as I before said, it was bounded to the west by the Euphrates, which in its latter course ran nearly parallel with the Tigris, and emptied itself into the sea below. . . . . In this province was the Ur of the Scriptures, called Ur of the Chaldeans,

which was so styled in order to distinguish it from every other place of the same name. It was also expressed Our, Ourhoë, Ourchoë, and the people were called Ourchani. It was sometimes compounded Camour, and rendered Camurine, and it is thus mentioned by Eupolemus. The description of Chaldea given by Strabo is very precise. He speaks much in favour of the natives, and says that they inhabited a portion of Babylonia which bordered upon Arabia and the Persic Sea. He describes them as being devoted to philosophy, especially the Borsippeni and the Orcheni. These last we may suppose to have been particularly the inhabitants of the city concerning which we are treating. For here, in the true land of Chaldea, we must look for Ur of the Chaldees. We accordingly find that there was such a place called Urchoë by Ptolemy, by Josephus, Ura, or Ure. By Eusebius it is rendered Ur, and it was undoubtedly the capital city of the province. Add to this the account given by Eupolemus, who points out plainly the place of the Patriarch's birth and abode.*

"As the history is so plain, why do we go so wide of the mark as to suppose this city to have been upon the confines of Syria? or, what is more extraordinary, to make it, as some do, an Assyrian city, and to place it high in the north, at the foot of Mount Taurus, upon the borders of Media and Armenia, where the name of Chaldeans is not to be found? Yet to these parts does Grotius, as well as Bochart, refer it, and mentioning Ur of the Chaldees, he adds, *the name remained to the time of Marcellinus*. But this learned man is surely wrong in determining so hastily and with such a latitude, for there was no Ur of the Chaldees, nor any Chaldea in these parts. Lucian was born at Samosata, and Marcellinus was thoroughly acquainted with this country, yet neither from them nor from Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, Solinus, nor from any writer, is there the least hint of any Chaldeans being here. . . . . The place mentioned above was an obscure castle of little consequence, as we may infer, from its never having been taken notice of by any other writer. Grotius says *mansit loco nomen*, from whence one might be led to imagine that it had existed in the days of Abraham. But there is not the least reason to suppose any such thing. . . . . .

"There is another question to be asked. As the rout (*sic*) supposed to be taken from Babylonia and the south towards Haran is objected to, I should be glad to know which way the Patriarch

* See page 6.

should have directed his steps. It is answered, *that he ought to have gone to Canaan directly westward, through Arabia, which would have been nearly in a strait* (sic) *line if he had gone from the lower regions of Babylonia, but as he proceeded in a circuit, that could not be the place of his departure.* Now, from the best accounts, we may be assured that the rout (*sic*), which we suppose him to have taken was the true and only way—there was no other by which people could proceed. . . . . The very best accounts prove that this was the rout (*sic*) ever taken by people who went from Babylonia and its provinces to Palæstina and Egypt, for the direct way, as Grotius terms it, and which Bochart recommends, could not be pursued. From Babylonia and Chaldea westward was a desert of great extent, which reached to Canaan, and still further to the Nile. Nor is there, I believe, upon record above one instance of its having ever been traversed.* All armies and all caravans of merchants were obliged to go to the north of the Euphrates when they came from Babylonia to Egypt, or the reverse when they went from Egypt to Babylonia. Herodotus, when he is speaking of the march of Cambyses to Egypt, says that the only way into that country was downward from the Euphrates, by Syro-Phenicia and Palæstine.† *There is no other apparent passage into Egypt but this.* And the reason is plain, for the Arabian desert rendered it impracticable to proceed in a strait (*sic*) line. People were obliged to go round by Carchemish upon the Euphrates, and the kings of Babylonia and Egypt fortified that place alternately to secure the passage of the river. When Pharaoh Necho and the king of Babylon wanted to meet in battle, they were obliged to come this way to the encounter. The army of Cambyses, and all the armies of the Greeks and Romans, those who served under Cyrus the younger, the army of Alexander, Antiochus, Antonius, Trajan, Gordian, Julian, went to the north by the Euphrates. Some of these princes set out from Egypt, yet were obliged to take this circuit. It is remarkable that Crassus, in his rout (*sic*) towards Babylonia, went by Charræ, or Harran, which was the very spot where Abraham, in his way from Chaldea to Canaan, resided. At this place the Roman general was met by Surena and slain. Alexander the great went nearly in the same track; for though this was round about,

* It is said by Berosus that Nebuchadnezzar, hearing of his father's death, made his way in great haste over this desert.

† Herodotus, L. iii, c. 5.

yet it was by many esteemed the best road to Babylonia. The Emperor Julian also took his rout (*sic*) by Haran, but from thence went the lower way by Cercusium and the Euphrates. For there were two roads through Mesopotamia to Babylon and Persia, and they both commenced at Charræ, or Haran. All these circumstances afford great light to the Mosaïc history, and abundantly witness its truth and precision, even in the most minute particulars. It is therefore a great pity that men of learning are not sufficiently considerate in their determinations. We, from this instance, see that they would set aside a plain and accepted interpretation, on account of a seeming difficulty, to the prejudice of Scripture, which interpretation, upon inquiry, affords a wonderful evidence in its favour, for it appears, upon the strictest examination, that things must have happened as they are represented."*

It is not difficult to infer that Bryant was fully convinced that the homestead of the family of Terah was in Southern Babylonia, and he tries to prove his argument by quotations from different historians, as if their information were infallible, quite forgetting the main point of Abraham's connexion with Aram-Naharaim in Northern Mesopotamia, which he never alludes to. Most of his arguments are flimsy, especially, as he asserts that there were no Chaldeans beyond Southern Mesopotamia, though he has a note in vol. iii, p. 287, on the word "Casdim" or "Chaldæi," in which he admits that "there was a *Chaldea* upon the Pontus Euxinus to the east of Sinope, in the country of the Chalybes;" but he adds, "*nobody will suppose that Abraham came from hence.*" Had the writer examined a proper map of Asia Minor, the ancient Cappadocia, he would have found that Aram-Naharaim bordered on that country, and its south eastern limit is within a few miles of the district of Scrooj, (the ancient Serug, named after the great grandfather of Abraham), or Padan-Aram. Then with regard to his references to the routes followed in times past by armies and travellers, he makes a woeful mistake by saying that there was no other way from Mesopotamia to Syria and the Holy Land except by Haran, and he goes so far as to ask, "which way the Patriarch should have directed his steps?" He could not have known that there were, and are, two ways to go from Irack or Babylonia to Palestine: one by Aana, and the other by Dair, both being important towns on the western side of the

* Jacob Bryant, *Ancient Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 277.

Euphrates; and in the time of Palmyra's prosperous days there was a flourishing trade between the East and the West through the kingdom of Zenobia to Syria. If I were asked by anyone which way to choose to go to Damascus from Mesopotamia, I should say it all depended upon where I was, as that interamnian region is more than one thousand miles in length. In going from Mossul or any part of Northern Mesopotamia I should proceed either by Orfa or Dair; but if I were at Baghdad, or in any locality in Southern Babylonia, the route taken would be on the western side of the Euphrates, and enter Syria either *viâ* Aana or Dair; but I should certainly never think of going three hundred miles out of my way to reach Damascus or Aleppo by way of Haran. The very fact of his quoting Herodotus (L. iii, c. 5) about the passage of Cambyses through the Syrian desert, shows that there was a way through that country which Phanes the Halicarnassian recommended. Moreover, modern travellers have frequented that route *viâ* Palmyra, though since the destruction of that kingdom the country has been deserted.

In 1837 the well known General Francis Rawdon Chesney, the commandant of the "Euphrates Expedition," took the direct desert route from the Persian Gulf to Damascus, without even following the valley of the Euphrates; and now I hear that Colonel Edward Mockler, lately Political Resident at Baghdad, has taken the Palmyra route *viâ* Damascus and Beyroot on his way home.

With reference to the allusion Bryant makes about Joshua's words to the children of Israel regarding the origin of their forefathers having dwelt "on the other side of the flood in old time," for the purpose of proving that he had meant the lowest part of the Euphrates, is contrary to reason, because all allusions made in the Old Testament to a "flood," or "great river," are directed to that part which borders on Aram-Naharaim and Padan-Aram, and with the history of Eliezer's mission to Northern Mesopotamia, and Jacob's matrimonial visit to Haran.

I think I cannot do better than quote the short notices made by three distinguished and experienced travellers and savans, who visited in person the lands I have been referring to,—I mean General F. R. Chesney, Mr. William Ainsworth the famous geologist, and Mr. J. S. Buckingham, as will be seen from their writings, that they considered Orfa (Eddesa) to have been the identical position of the "Ur of the Chaldees." General Chesney says thus: "To this place I had looked forward with much interest. Its history as

a royal city, its much earlier connection with Job and Abraham, and its present as well as future importance with regard to trade (of which its position has at all times made it an emporium), naturally gave it great consequence in my eyes. Its appearance, as the traveller approaches, is most picturesque. It occupies the intervening valley, as well as the slopes of two hills, which jut out from the range of neighbouring mountains. On their southern side is the castle, which, as well as the town itself, is defended by high walls flanked by square towers. The city contains 900 Turkish, 800 Armenian, and 200 Syrian houses, all well built: also numerous baths, and about twenty mosques, one of which is a remarkably handsome building, with two large ponds attached to it full of sacred fish.

"The extensive excavations in the vicinity of the town are supposed to be the remains of ancient Riha or Edessa, and on the adjoining hill are the scattered ruins of a building attributed to Nimrūd." *

Under the head of *Ur of the Chaldees*, Mr. Ainsworth writes: "The city of Ur, which was in Ur of the Chaldees, and the seat of the nativity of Abraham and of the death of Haran, is, to the present day, denominated by the Syrians Urhoi, by the Arabs corrupted into 'Urfáh, or 'Orfáh. It is at the foot of the mountains of Osroene, and at the head of the same great and fertile plain, which contains the seats of the patriarchs of the family of Shem: Haran, and Seruj. Tradition has consecrated 'Urfáh as the birthplace of the father of Isaac, and the Bírket el Ibrahím el Khalíl is still supposed to contain the descendants of the fish loved by the Prophet. 'Urfáh is also celebrated as the residence of Akbár, commonly called Agbarus, by Herodotus Λυγαρος, who is said to have written a letter to our Saviour.

"Ur was not only 'Ur of the Chaldees' (Gen. xi, 28, Aben Ezra in Gen., Bochart, lib. i, Phaleg, x, and Hugo Grotius in Gen.), but is more particularly described as in the land of the Chaldæans (Josephus, lib. i: *Antiq.*, vii), and by Eusebius as 'Ur oppidum regni Chaldæorum,' that is, of the kingdom founded by Chesed; the same author also says, 'In urbe Camarina, seu Urie, quæ Græcis dicta Chaldæopolis.' Oriental historians conduct the patriarch Abraham, in his migration to the land of Canaan, from Haran to

* Chesney's *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, p. 139.

Berza, or Beroe, the modern Aleppo; and 'Ahméd Ibn Yusúf, and Abu Mohammméd Mustáfah, identify Ur with Roha, the modern Urfah. From the records of the Holy Writ we gather (Gen. xi, 31)' that Terah and Abraham, with others of the family, went out of Ur to go into the land of Canaan, and they came into Haran, and dwelt there. It is evident, that, had the Ur of the Chaldees been identical with the Ur of Babylonian Chaldæa, the Orchoe of Ptolemy and Pliny, that the way of the patriarchs did not lie through Haran in Mesopotamia; but even the direction of the journey is preserved in the amplitude of the sacred text, for we are expressly informed (Gen. xii, 9), that the Patriarch 'journeyed, going on still towards the south.'

"Ur, in the progress of corruption, became Urhoi, Roha, 'Orfah or 'Urfáh, and, with change of masters, Chaldæopolis, Antiochea, Callirhoe, and Edessa. Mr. Buckingham has apparently mistaken what Benjamin of Tudela says of Dakia, or Rakkah, as belonging to 'Urfáh, and hence he makes Haran two days' journey from that city, from which it is in reality visible at almost all times, and a ride of only eight hours, or about twenty miles in direct distance."*

The geographer Buckingham, alludes to Orfa, or Ur of the Chaldees, as follows :—

"Orfah is conceived, by all the learned Jews and Mohammedans, as well as by the most eminent scholars among the Christians, to have been Ur of the Chaldees, ftom whence Abraham went forth to dwell in Haran, previous to his being called from thence, by God, to go into Canaan, the land promised to himself and to his seed for ever. The Jews say that this place is called in Scripture Ourcasdin, that is, the Fire of Chaldea, out of which, say they, God brought Abraham; and on this account the Talmudists affirm that Abraham was here cast into the fire and was miraculously delivered.

"This capital of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Padan-Aram and Aram-Naharaim of the Hebrews, the Mesopotamia of the Greeks, and the Paradise of the poets, received from its Macedonian conquerors the name of Edessa; and an abundant fountain which the city enclosed, and called, in Greek, Callirhoe, communicated this name to the city itself. In later times it was called Roha, or, with the article of the Arabs, Or-rhoa, and by abbreviation, Orha.

* Ainsworth's *Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea*, p. 152.

"D'Anvilie thinks that this last name may be derived from the Greek term signifying a fountain; or, according to another opinion, it may refer to the founder of this city, whose name is said to have been Orrhoi, now retained, with some little corruption, in Orfah or Urfah."*

There is no doubt that both Job and Balaam were natives of Aram-Naharaim, and were of the same stock as the Hebrews in the Aramean sense of the word; and so also a large majority of the Arabs. In the Book of Job it is related that bands of Chaldeans and Sabeans had plundered that Patriarch's camels and cattle; it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that both those nationalities inhabited the northern part of Mesopotamia, as we know that Haran was at one time a Sabean settlement, and the Chaldeans occupied one part of Cappodocia to the north. Diodorus Siculous mentions (Tom. i; T. ii, p. 142–145) the temple of the moon at Haran, whereto the Sabeans went for pilgrimages; but now that sect, which is commonly called Christians of St. John, are only found in Southern Babylonia and in Khuzistan in Southern Persia. It is very remarkable that those interesting people, of whom there are now no more than, at the most, about one hundred thousand souls existing, speak almost the same language as that of the Chaldeans in Assyria and Mesopotamia, called by them "Chaldee" or Chaldean, erroneously styled in Europe as *Syriac;* but as I intend to touch briefly hereafter upon the nationality and language of the latter, I will confine myself, for the present, to the subject under consideration.

The origin of the Chaldeans and their ruling power have been from time immemorial a puzzle, and I suppose the controversy will continue as it has been to the end of the chapter, especially as up to the present time scholars have not agreed as to the etymology of the word ארפכשד, Arphaxad, from which all the Semitic nations believe this nationality of the Chaldeans and Hebrews sprang.† Why the authors of the Septuagint translated the word בשדיא, Chasdia, into Chaldean is not easily to be understood, unless, indeed, they adopted the word from the Chaldeans themselves, as we know from Josephus, alluded to above, that they were called by that name in his time. We learn, however, from the history of Dicæarchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and a philosopher of great

* Buckingham's *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol. I, p. 121.

† Josephus, I, vi, 4.

repute, the Chaldeans were first called *Cephenes* from *Cepheus*, and afterwards *Chaldæans* from *Chaldæus*, an Assyrian king, fourteenth in succession from Ninus. This Chaldæus built Babylon near the Euphrates, and placed the Chaldaens in it.* This confirms in a remarkable manner the passage in Isaiah, which has given rise to the question as to the origin of the Chaldaens :—"Behold the land of the Chaldeans ; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwelt in the wilderness : they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof."†

The use of the word *Chaldean*, like that of Assyrian, was very vague. It appears to have been applied sometimes to the entire country bordering on the Tigris and Euphrates south of the mountainous regions of Asia Minor and Armenia, to only a part of it, to a race, and ultimately to a class of the priesthood. There is a remarkable passage in Judith (chap. v, 6, 7), in which the Jews are spoken of as descendants of the Chaldeans, a belief which is prevalent amongst all the Hebrews in Biblical lands at the present day.

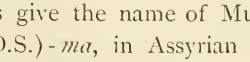
As to the extent of the Chaldean kingdom after the destruction of the Assyrian monarchy, there is no doubt that it must have included, in the time of the Medo-Persian Monarchy, all the provinces which were subject to Nebuchadnezzar, and called the *realm of the Chaldeans* in Daniel (ix, 1). It is thus related there : "In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans."

Now, I must say a few words concerning the expression of *Ur*, which is said to have been found amongst the arrow-headed inscriptions in the Mound of Moggayir in Southern Babylonia. As I said before, it is not my business to enter into a minute detail about the etymology of the cuneiform inscriptions, inasmuch as I do not claim to be an Assyrian scholar, but I wish to try and give a commonsense view of the reading of Semitic languages. In the first place the word Ur which is said to have been found in the cuneiform inscriptions is not written with regular letters of the alphabet ; and if it were, it does not prove that that was Ur of the Chaldees mentioned in the 11th chapter of Genesis, as the very fact of its being called Ur of the Chaldees shows that there were other Urs in Biblical lands in those days, as the Or of Salem (or Jerusalem).

* Stephanus, *Dict. Hist. Geog.* † Isaiah, xxiii, 13.

Moreover, the word Ur is not pronounced thus in the original Semitic languages, and even if it were, how is it to be assumed that that was really pronounced as Ur, when we know that Or of Salem in Aramaic is spelt and pronounced differently, as יְרוּ Yeroo in Hebrew. It is very difficult for any person not quite conversant even with modern Semitic languages to understand not only the pronunciation but the real meaning of certain words, unless he has lived in the country since childhood and become acquainted with the idioms and phraseology understood by the natives. Very often a traveller finds that what he learnt in one country where Arabic is spoken is not to be comprehended in another. I think one example will suffice, and that is the word مِن min (which means *from*), consisting of two letters, م meem M, and ن noon N. When it is pronounced differently it is turned into who? defective, being benevolent, conferring a benefit, manna, and a measure of two pounds. The most wonderful of all the changes that take place in an Arabic word is عَجُوز Ajooz, which means an old woman. There are no less than one hundred meanings to that word when it is pronounced according to its application and context. The oddest of all the combinations in the list of words under the head of Ajooz are, a young woman of delicate constitution; an old man; a king; a kettle; a pot; butter; wine; a lion; a horse; a bull; a cow; a dog; and a she-camel! If these variable meanings of four Arabic letters constituting an old woman are not enough to puzzle even an Assyrian scholar, I do not know what would be.

In writing to my friend, Mr. Theophilus Pinches, the learned Assyrian scholar, for his opinion about the word Ur found at Moggayir, he was good enough to send me the following answer, which will explain his idea upon the subject whether that Ur was really the Ur of the Chaldees mentioned in Genesis as being the birthplace of Abraham. He says:—

"The bilingual texts give the name of Mugeyyer thus:  , *uri*-(D.S.)-*ma*, in Assyrian characters, the pronunciation *in Assyrian* being Uru, genitive Uri, as in *bêl Uri*, "lord of Uru," a title of Nannar or Sin, the moon-god, who was patron-god of the city.

"You will notice that after the D.S. ('determinative suffix, showing that what precedes is the name of a place), there is the character *ma* (or wa), indicating that the full form of the word in Akkadian was Urima, or Uriwa. There is no trace of this extra

syllable in the Assyrian form, but it certainly ought to be in the Hebrew, if Mugeyyer be Ur of the Chaldees. In my opinion, the extra letter or syllable at the end would have been represented by ו, or וא (אורו, or אורוא). That the Assyrian has *u* (Uru) and not *o* (Oru) is no argument against the identification, as the same vowel had to do duty for both *u* and *o* in that language. Except the likeness of the name, I do not know why scholars have identified Ur-Kasdim with Uru (Mugeyyer). They regard the latter as being in the land of the Chaldees."

Through the blundering of the Greeks there has been no end of confusion in like manner as regards the word ארם Aram in Hebrew, which was corrupted into Syria, and ארמי Aramee into Syriac; and so it happened in regard to the ancient name of *Assyrians*, as Herodotus mentions in his Polymnia (Book VII. chap. 63), that the Greeks called them *Syrians*. Professor George Rawlinson, the present Canon of Canterbary, however, has tried to contradict in his learned work,* entitled "Rawlinson's Herodotus," the father of history, by alleging that "Syrian" is nothing but a variant of Tyrian," and that Syrian and Assyrian are two entirely different words. That the Greeks when they first became acquainted with the country between Asia Minor and Egypt, found the people of Tyre (Tzur) predominant there, and from them called the country in which they dwelt Syria (for Tsyria, which was beyond their powers of articulation). Afterwards, when they heard of the Assyrians, they supposed the name to be the same, though it had really a very different sound and origin Then he goes on to say: "The difference between the two words will be seen most plainly by reference to the original languages. The root of 'Syrian' is in Hebrew צור (Tzur), the root of 'Assyrian' is אשור (Asshur). A still greater distinction is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, where Assyria is called Assur, but the Tyrians are styled Tsur-ra-ya, the characters used being entirely different. With respect to original meaning, Tzur seems to be rightly explained, as so called from the rock (צור) on which the town was built; Asshur is perhaps to be connected with אשר 'happiness,' at any rate it can have no connection with tzur."

It is difficult to understand how Professor Rawlinson manages to prove his argument by asserting that the word Syrian was a

* Vol. IV, p. 52. (Note.)

corruption of the Greek Tyrian, or the Hebrew Tzur! In the Semitic languages Tyre is rendered צור Ssoor with the hard *s*, or ssadee), and in the Greek and other European languages it has been called Tyre, or Tyrus. In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament there is a great distinction between the words Tyre and Syrian. The former is written Τυρον, Tyrian, or Τυρίον, but the latter is mentioned as Συριαν, Syrian, which is a corrupt rendering of Aram. Moreover there is no such word as Syria in Hebrew or Aramaic, but the proper word is ארם Aram. This proves that when the Old Testament was translated into Greek, the term Tyre was understood to have no connexion with the foreign appellation Syria, they being two distinct nomenclatures. Even the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, the brother of the Professor, considered that the word Syria was a corruption of Assyria, as it will be seen from his remark upon his brother's note in "Herodotus," Book I, chap. 6, in which he says, "[the only true word is Assyria, from Asshur. Syria is a Greek corruption of the genuine term.—H. C. R.]."

Even in the present day people are puzzling their heads whether the Chaldeans of Assyria and Mesopotamia, of which nationality I am, are entitled to that ancient name, as if those people had no origin, but had fallen from the sky! Indeed, the members of the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians have taken the liberty of giving them a new name by calling them "East Syrians," an appellation which is quite foreign to them, as they never had any connexion with Syria, and their country lies on the eastern side of the Tigris, known as Assyria, and not to the west of the Euphrates! Being ignorant of the habits and customs, and historical changes in Biblical lands, they have drawn their conclusions from the word "Soorayé," by which, as they allege, the Nestorians, who inhabit the highlands of Assyria, call themselves. This is a mere religious term which means *Christian*, like the sect of the *Nazarenes*.* "Soorayé" is a corruption of the word *athoorayé* (Assyrian), the same as Othman is corrupted by the Turks into Osman, and turned into English as *Ottoman*. The *th* as in three is turned into *s*, as it is now pronounced by different Biblical nationalities, such as the Yezeedees, Coords, and Persians.

The Chaldeans, both as a nation and a sect, have been mentioned by different writers from time to time, namely—Herodotus,

* Acts xxiv, 5.

Xenephon, Josephus, Bar Hebræus, Assemani, and the modern geographers; and the Arab historians, in particular, allude to Assyria as *Athoor*, on the eastern side of the Tigris, where Nineveh is situated. The Chaldeans of the present day, therefore, are considered also Assyrians from the country they inhabit; and with regard to their language they have always retained the Aramaic dialect, which is called in the Targum, Daniel, and Ezra, *Chaldee*, but is known in Europe as Syriac. The word Syriac, or *Siryanee*, is applied by them to the characters used by the so-called Syrians or Jacobites. It is true there is very little difference between the Chaldean and the Syriac, but the dissemblance is marked in the formation of the letters, and the pronunciation of a number of words like Yegar-sahadutha* (heap of witness), Maran-atha † (our Lord's coming), Abba ‡ (father), Talitha § (damsel), Maria (Lord), Allaha (God), which the Syrians pronounce Yogor Sohodotho, Morenotho, Obbo, Tolitho, Morio, and Olloho.

Formerly the Syrians of Mesopotamia, who were of the same descent as the Chaldeans, spoke their language and wrote like them; but in the thirteenth century Bar-Hebræus, a promoter of the Jacobites, wishing to make a thorough distinction between the writing of the Monophysites and that of the so-called Nestorians, on account of the bitter doctrinal antagonism which existed between those two sects, changed the characters and vowel points. The Chaldean P and A were changed into F and O respectively; and if we refer to Holy Writ, whether Hebrew or Greek, including the Septuagint, it will be found that the present Chaldeans keep to the old pronunciation.

There is no doubt that the Nestorians of the highland and the lowland of Assyria were of the same origin as the Chaldeans of Mossul; Baghdad, and Diarbekir; but socially speaking they do not stand on the same footing, because, while the former, with few exceptions, are rural and of the peasant class, the latter are cultured and stand in a higher status of society.

There can be no better proof of a people's nationality than the language, homestead, and history; and certainly no nation in the world has a better claim to Assyrian and Chaldean descent than the Chaldeans of Assyria and Mesopotamia. Their language has always been Chaldee, though Arabic is now the common language

* Genesis xxxi, 47.
† 1 Cor. xvi, 22.
‡ Mark xiv, 36.
§ Mark v, 41.

of the country, which was adopted in the time of the Arab conquest. Their country was known formerly as Assyria, and history has always pointed to that country as being the fatherland of the Chaldeans and Assyrians. Xenephon mentions in his Cyclopædia that when he passed through the mountainous regions of Assyria and Media he met with three nationalities, namely,—the Carduchi (Coords), Armenians, and Chaldeans; and at the present time these three distinct peoples are found in the same country. No one doubts that the two former are remnants of those mentioned by Xenephon, yet the third, who are now styled vulgarly, in a religious sense, "Nestorians," must have no nationality of their own, because, forsooth, some foreign travellers took it into their heads to attach to them a strange term as Nestorians, which is merely a nickname like Lutheran or Wesleyan. In the greater part of Assyria Chaldee is spoken; but in Mesopotamia the common language is Arabic; and each of the different Christian communities retains its mother tongue in its church services and ecclesiastical correspondence. So also in Syria, the Holy Land, and Egypt, like the Greeks, Armenians and Copts; but all official communications are carried on in Turkish. It is very remarkable that the present Chaldeans are called both Chaldeans and Assyrians, and their ancient national language is Aramean or Chaldee, derived, as that of the Hebrews, from Aram, one of the sons of Shem. There is no doubt their origin came from Arpachshad, Asshur, and Aram, mentioned in the 22nd verse of the tenth chapter of Genesis. When and how the affinity and amalgamation came into existence in ancient time must be left to conjecture, but there is one thing certain, that in accordance with Semitic custom, when people intermarried with a different nationality, they adopted the name on the mother side; and it may be that the Arpachshadites at one time or other intermarried with the Arameans, from whom they obtained their present language.

The habits, customs, and dress in biblical lands have undergone a great change, except amongst the Arabs, during the last fifty years. The higher class of Christians have adopted the European costume, and the French and English languages are being cultivated, especially the former, on account of the number of schools opened by the Vatican Missions. Formerly in most places, particularly in Syria, degrading restrictions were imposed upon the Jews and Christians in their attire; and at one time, in a large number of cities, no Christian or Jew was allowed to ride a horse, and if they

rode donkeys, as their lot, they were compelled to dismount when they passed a Moslem of rank or the precincts of a religious place. The ladies, too, have changed, in a great measure, their primitive costumes, and taken to European apparel. They even go so far as to wear gloves, laced boots, and complete their attire by carrying sunshades! The nomad Arabs and Coords, on the contrary, keep to their old costumes, which I think have not seen much change from primitive time. The food of the Coords and Arabs, and the lower classes of the inhabitants of biblical lands, has not changed much, as the "savoury meat" which Isaac desired Esau, his son, to prepare for him, is still a standing dish amongst the primitive inhabitants of the land.

The Arabs, especially the women, still go about without wearing drawers, as the custom used to be amongst the ancients like Noah* and the Israelites.† Amongst both Christians, Hebrews, and Moslems, it is a sin to enter any place of worship with their shoes on, as they adhere to God's command to Moses at the burning bush,‡ though the former and the Jews are now following the European habit of performing their religious rites with their dirty shoes and boots on. It is a notable fact that up to the present day all Moslems, whether Turks, Arabs, Persians, or Indians, conform to the same divine command by taking their boots and shoes off when they perform their worship, though they are quite ignorant of the origin of the ceremony.

The ancient custom of washing the stranger's feet is not practised now in biblical lands, but it is in vogue in Abyssinia. Generally speaking those who perform this duty are females, but I was one of those few who preferred to do the necessary ablution for myself.

The ancient biblical habits still exist in Mespotamia, amongst both Christians and Moslems, of rending their garment§ at a calamity, or grief or anger; smiting upon the breast‖ at prayer or supplication; bowing their heads to the ground in the act of worship¶ or homage**; throwing dust on their heads, and covering

* Genesis, ix, 21. † Exodus xx, 26. ‡ Exodus, iii, 5.

§ 2 Sam. xiii, 19. ‖ Luke, xviii, 13. ¶ Genesis, xvii, 3.

** Ruth, ii, 10. This kind of homage can also be noticed on the black obelisk found by Sir Henry Layard at Nimroud, where the ambassador of King Ahab is seen falling on his face before Shalmaneser. It is also remarkable that all Mohammedan worshippers, when praying, have *to* go down on their knees and touch the ground with their foreheads.

it with their hands in great affliction * and such like misfortune.

It was prophesied by Nahum (ii, 7) respecting the destruction of Ninevah thus: "And Huzzab shall be led away captive, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts." This kind of lamentation is most scrupulously practised in the Irack (Babylonia) by the Sheea sect of the Moslems, when the anniversary of the murder of their patron saint Hosain is commemorated. I have seen blood gushing out from the wounds caused by the severe tabering on the breasts of young men when they were bewailing the historical tragedy.

The most remarkable observance which still exists amongst the Arabs is the "covenant of salt," as it prevailed with biblical nationalities in primitive time. We find it was a divine ordinance amongst the Israelites to celebrate their heave offerings with salt.† In writing to Artaxerxes, King of Persia, of their fidelity to him, the governors beyond the Euphrates tell him thus: "Because we eat the salt of the palace it was not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king."‡

I must end by relating a quaint story which happened to a friend at Aden, the Arabian British settlement, when I was acting as first assistant political resident there. He was looked upon with great veneration by all Arabs of Arabia Felix, not only on account of his sainted ancestors, but for his piety and influence in the country, which reminded me of the trick played upon Jacob by Laban. His name was Seyyid Alowi Alaidroos, the chiefest amongst the Aden Arabs, and he having heard that the Sultan of Lahaj had two handsome sisters, contracted to marry the youngest, who was reported to him to be the best looking of the two. Of course, according to the custom of the notable Arab families of that country he was not privileged to see his betrothed, but trusted to the praises and commendations of his female friends who, I have no doubt, related to him everything about her, even to her graceful walk and sweet sounding voice. Her brother consented to the marriage, and when the happy day came and the wedlock ceremony was performed, he found that instead of the damsel he chose, the elder one was given to him. It can well be imagined in what a state my friend

* 2 Samuel xiii, 19.

† Lev. ii, 13, and Numbers, xviii, 19.

‡ Ezra, iv, 14.

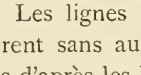
got into when he found the unexpected change. When he remonstrated with his brother-in-law for the trick he had played him, he was told that it was contrary to Arab rule to marry the younger before the elder, but he promised him, after he would fulfil her month, to let him have her sister, which he did. I am glad to say that my friend was quite satisfied and lived a happy life with the two sisters afterwards, and the two damsels were in like manner elated at having a distinguished descendant of the prophet Mohammed as their lord and master.

There also occurred another biblical incident in my time in Abyssinia, illustrating king Saul's capricious behaviour with regard to the re-marriage of his daughter Michal, the wife of David, when the latter had to flee from the fury of the former (1 Sam. xxv, 44). When Menelik, the present Emperor of Abyssina, was a semi-captive with King Theodore, the latter gave him his daughter in marriage; but, on finding that his father-in-law was getting more cruel every day, and his best friends were not safe from his inhuman deeds, he deemed it prudent to decamp. When Theodore learnt of his son-in-law's escape, he at once re-married his daughter to another favourite courtier.

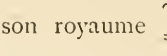
THOTMÈS III, ÉTAIT-IL LE FILS DE THOTMÈS I?

Par J. Lieblein.

Longtemps l'opinion a été généralement adoptée que Thotmès III était le fils de Thotmès I et le frère cadet de Thotmès II et de la reine Hatasou ou Hatshepsou. Cette opinion, pour la première fois émise par Hincks, était fondée sur un monument du British Museum, la statue du prince Anebni, qui formellement et sans équivoque nous apprend, que Thotmès III était le frère de Hatasou,  . Mais dans les derniers temps un monument a été trouvé qui, selon l'explication que l'on en a donnée, au contraire prouve, que Thotmès III serait le fils de Thotmès II et par conséquent le neveu de Hatasou. C'est une stèle mise au jour dans le tombeau d'Anna par M. Boussac, publié dans le Recueil (*Recueil de travaux*, t. XII, pp. 105–107) par M. Bouriant et partiellement commentée et traduite par M. Maspero dans les Proceedings (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. XIV, pp. 176 *ss.*). MM. Bouriant et Maspero sont d'opinion que Anna dans ce texte nous raconte son histoire sous les pharaons Amenophis I et les Thotmès I, II et III. Cependant, il faut tout d'abord remarquer que le seul roi qui est nommé est Thotmès II et que les autres ne sont indiqués que par des indices plus ou moins certains.

Et puis consultons un peu plus proche notre texte. Les lignes 1–5 se rapportent probablement à Amenophis I, dont la mort est mentionnée dans la ligne 4. Les lignes suivantes, 6–14, ou peut-être jusqu'à la ligne 16, se réfèrent sans aucun doute à Thotmès I. Le roi n'est pas nommé, mais d'après les lignes 9 et 10 il a érigé deux obélisques et se servait d'une  , grand radeau, cent vingt coudées long et quarante coudées large, pour les transporter à Thèbes, ce qui doit avoir rapport aux deux obélisques bien connus que Thotmès I a érigés dans le grand temple de Karnak.

Dans les lignes 14–16 nous lisons ce qui suit :

"Le roi (Thotmès I) sort au ciel après avoir vecu ses années dans la joie du cœur, ayant l'épervier, le roi Thotmès II, dans le nid ; l'Egypte était son royaume  et la terre rouge son empire, il a conquis les deux terres par la justice. Je remplissais le cœur du roi en toutes ses places ; il a fait plus pour moi que pour les nobles d'autrefois ; j'atteignis l'âge des *amχou ;* j'étais dans la faveur de sa Majesté sur le trône de Re. Je mettais sur la table d'offrande du roi une plénitude de pains, de choses pures pour le roi, de bière comme de viande, de fruits  *t't*, XIXI, fructus. Brugsch, *Supplément du Dictionnaire*), de plantes (?), de *tqr*, plusieurs sortes, de miel, de sables, de vin, d'huile de *qab*. On réglait mes affaires en santé et vie selon ce que disait le roi lui-même à cause de mon amour."

Dans toute cette partie que j'ai traduite textuellement il s'agit probablement de Thotmès I ; ce qui me porte à le croire, c'est la mention d'une offrande qui ne peut bien être autre chose que l'offrande funéraire apportée par Anna après la mort de Thotmès I. "Le roi," "sa Majesté," et le sujet  répété indiquerait la même personne, Thotmès I. Voici le sens de ce morceau du texte :

Après avoir dit que Thotmès I était mort et qu'il avait laissé un jeune fils comme successeur, Anna ajoute quelques remarques sur le roi décédé ; il mentionne les faveurs dont il avait joui sous le roi et raconte qu'il avait eu soin de l'offrande funéraire de Thotmès I. Immédiatement après la partie traduite plus haut, Anna continue son récit par répéter la phrase sur la mort de Thotmès I :—

"Quand, sortant au ciel, il (Thotmès I) eut joint les dieux, son fils (Thotmès II) se tint à sa place comme roi des deux pays, et il fut prince sur le siège de celui qui l'avait engendrè (tandis que) sa sœur (la sœur de Thotmès II), la divine épouse Hatasou fit office d'administration du pays," etc.

Ici la répétition de la phrase sur la mort de Thotmès I pourrait très bien être motivée par le désir d'Anna de constater la situation politique après la mort de Thotmès I, à savoir que son fils mineur Thotmès II fut roi de nom, tandis que Hatasou, depuis long temps installée dans le gouvernement par son père Thotmès I (Naville, *La succession des Thoutmés*, dans *Zeitschrift für Ägyb. Sprache*, XXXV Band, p. 23), fut roi de fait.

Par conséquent il n'y a aucune nécessité de voir dans  (ligne 16) le roi Thotmès III qui n'est pas nommé dans toute l'inscription, et sans nécessité urgente il n'est pas permis de rejeter un témoignage aussi direct que celui de la statue d'Anebni, dont l'inscription est tout-à-fait claire et certaine.

Pourquoi faire des difficultés où il n'y en a pas? Elles sont toutes levées par l'explication de notre texte que j'ai proposée ici, explication qui au moins n'est pas impossible, si elle n'est pas certaine sans recourir à l'inscription de la statue d'Anebni.

Cependant, il y a encore un autre monument, un colosse de Thotmès II, qui semble indiquer que Thotmès III était le fils de Thotmès II. Mais l'inscription dont il s'agit ici n'est pas intacte, et le cartouche est mutilé précisement dans la partie qui distingue le prénom de Thotmès II de celui de Thotmès I, de sorte que l'on ne puisse tirer aucune preuve décisive de ce monument. C'est aussi l'opinion de M. Maspero qui a discuté cette question au long. (*Proceedings*, vol. XIV, 171 *ss.*) Naturellement, car la preuve n'a aucune valeur réelle, quand elle manque le point essentiel et caractéristique, comme c'est le cas ici.

Donc, tout bien réfléchi, je le crois prudent jusqu'à nouvel ordre de rester par l'opinion de Hincks, ci-après acceptée par tous les égyptologues, que Thotmès III était le fils de Thotmès I.

Il ne m'est pas possible, je l'avoue franchement, d'accepter les conclusions hardies auxquelles M. Sethe est arrivé dans son remarquable mémoire, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis I*, et je me range entièrement à la critique que M. Naville en a donnée dans son travail, *La succession des Thoutmès d'après un mémoire récent;* mais dans le point spécial que j'ai traité ici je suis pourtant d'accord avec M. Sethe.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EGYPTIAN MONARCHY.

Dahabia Istar.

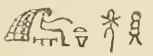
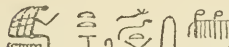
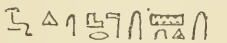
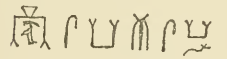
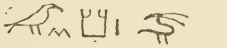
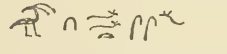
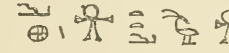
January, 1898.

Dear Mr. Rylands,—

I have just been studying M. de Morgan's new work on Egypt: *Ethnographie préhistorique et Tombeau royal de Négadah*, which is, as the Germans would say, "epoch-making." Its importance is enhanced by the discovery made by Dr. Borchardt since it was in type, that the royal tomb found at Negadah is that of Menes himself, the founder of the united Egyptian monarchy. This, however, does not affect any of M. de Morgan's conclusions, since the archæological evidence had already led him to ascribe the tomb to an earlier date than those of the First Dynasty kings discovered by M. Amélineau at Abydos. Indeed, the discovery of the name is a confirmation of the soundness of M. de Morgan's method and of his interpretation of the archæological facts.

I am not, however, going to write a review of the book, but wish only to offer some illustrations and explanations of the archaic hieroglyphic inscriptions given in it. I have long been interested in the seal-cylinders of Babylonian type which have been bought from time to time from the antiquity-dealers of Upper Egypt, believing them to go back to the very beginnings of the Egyptian monarchy, and to indicate a connection at that early date between Egypt and Babylonia. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on most of these seal-cylinders have hitherto been unintelligible, owing chiefly to the strange forms and combinations of the characters engraved upon them. The seal-cylinder impressions found at Negadah and Abydos, however, now throw light upon them, and in return receive light themselves.

The names found in the Negadah and Abydos tombs are for the most part banner or *ka* names, surmounted by the hawk of Horus. This is natural, since the objects on which they occur were buried with the dead, and consequently they are the names of the dead and not the living kings. Upon one object only—an ivory *plaque*—does the name of Men or Menes, for example, accompany his Horus-name Aha.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 

In one instance the Horus-name Aha is accompanied by the figures of three ostriches, a sign which is met with also on other objects found in the tomb of Menes. I believe that they represent the well-known hieroglyph *baiu*, "soul(s)," in which another bird has taken the place of the ostrich, which seems to have become extinct in Egypt after the age of the First Dynasty. It was, however, very plentiful there in prehistoric times, as is shown by its frequency in the rock-carvings. I have a copper ring from a prehistoric or First Dynasty tomb at Kom el-Ahmar opposite El-Kab on which two ostriches are engraved.

Several small *plaques* of ivory were found in the tomb of Menes, on one side of which are certain numerals, perhaps denoting the number of beads in the necklaces which are depicted upon two of them, while on the other side are in two cases the characters *sh-t*, and in four cases *ḥetep* accompanied by a character which is unknown to the later hieroglyphics. I have found it, however, on some seal-cylinders in Mr. MacGregor's collection (Nos. 1, 2, 3), all of which are of the short, thick type, with a narrow hole running through them. On No. 1 the *ḥ* on each side of the name Nezen (?) reminds us of the *ḥ-t* which stands between the Horus names of Menes in one of the inscriptions from his tomb.

No. 3 is especially important, because the inscription upon it is identical with a *ka*-name (without the Horus) discovered in the tomb of Menes, and which may therefore have belonged to one of his sons or wives. The only difference between them is that the plant (*ḥa*) which intervenes between the unknown character and the ostrich on the cylinder is placed outside the *ka*-name in the seal impression from Negadah.* The latter shows that the unknown character represents two arrows crossed and attached to a staff or standard. Can it have been a symbol of the goddess Sati or of Nekheb? When two horns were placed above it, it represented the goddess Safekh. In No. 1 it is engraved immediately before the table of offerings with the cake above it, before which the deceased sits. In No. 2 it precedes the name of "the city of the goat." Are we to interpret this "the city of Ba, the city which is called Dad"? On another cylinder, No. 4, another sign which bears a faint resem-

* The Negadah form of the plant shows that it must be *ḥa*. On Mr. MacGregor's cylinder it has the same form as in the name of the 6th king (Ḥan) in the First Table of Pellegrini's edition of the Stela of Palermo.

blance to  , takes the place of the one we are discussing.* It may be noted that the cylinders make it clear that the hieroglyph  *t* is a picture of the cake that was offered to the dead.

On the stelæ of private individuals found in the royal tombs of Abydos, and belonging, as Prof. Erman suggests, to the retainers of the king, the name of the deceased is preceded by the two hieroglyphs *ka khu*, where the *khu* or luminous ghost is embraced by the arms of the *ka* or double. On one of Mr. MacGregor's cylinders (No. 7), which, like the others, is of the short, thick type, we have exactly the same compound character, the whole inscription reading: "The deceased, Ska (or Ploughman) the son of Ska-f." The seal seems to have been that of a *fellah* attached to the land of a king or noble.

On some of the early seal-cylinders the *bennu* or Phœnix makes its appearance. On one of those belonging to Mr. MacGregor, but of the later type, with a large aperture, the word is written phonetically  ; on one of the older type belonging to Mr. D. C. Robertson (No. 8) the bird is described as "the Phœnix, the *ka* (or double) of Horus." It is also found on two of Mr. MacGregor's cylinders of the older type (Nos. 9 and 10), as well as on two cylinders (Nos. 11 and 12) now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, on the first of which we have an interesting form of the *crux ansata*, also met with on Hittite seals, while on the other is the sign for metal (*ba*). Most of these cylinders of the early type are made of steatite, which was so largely used in that second half of the prehistoric age of Egypt which overlapped the First Dynasty.

The most interesting seal-cylinder in the Ashmolean Museum, however, is one of white stone, with a large hole that is only partially bored, as I read upon it the name of Atotha, who was the grandson of Menes according to the Tablet of Abydos. The inscription (No. 13) is as follows: *Nefer kheru* (?) *mâ m kherneter Atotha suten ânkh merer*, "Nefer the deceased, in Hades, beloved of Atotha the living king."

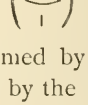
* It seems here to represent a proper name, if we compare it with the inscription on a seal-cylinder belonging to Mr. Insinger of Luxor (No. 5), on which what is evidently a proper name is flanked on either side by ∩. Similarly on a seal-cylinder belonging to Mr. D. C. Robertson and bought at Luxor (No. 6), "the Osiris Shedus (?)" is flanked by the same sign.

I come now to the fragments of the steatite *plaque*, called by Prof. Steindorff "The Green Stone," the portion of which, now at Gizeh, is beautifully reproduced by M. de Morgan. M. Jéquier says of the fragments, that "the origin of them is not exactly known." This is not the case, however. They were found at Abydos in 1882, and one of the discoverers told me that the *plaque* was perfect when it was first disinterred and was only afterwards broken owing to a quarrel among the finders. The quarrel also led to one of the fragments, which was described to me as "covered with hieroglyphics," being thrown into the Nile. All the fragments were offered to me for a small sum, but I was unwise enough not to purchase them. One of the fragments, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum, and is not noticed by M. Jéquier, has upon it the figure of a giraffe. As I pointed out in the *Academy* several years ago, this connects the *plaque* with the rock-drawings of Upper Egypt, in which the giraffe is so frequently represented. On the other hand, the style of art of the *plaque* is that of the early monuments of Tello in Southern Babylonia.

The fragment now in the Gizeh Museum contains the names of seven cities all enclosed within the fortified wall which subsequently became a cartouche. The hieroglyphics sculptured within them take us back to the very beginnings of Egyptian writing, and when compared with the conventional hieroglyphics of the tomb of Menes, presuppose an interval of time that must be measured by centuries. The symbols of the Egyptian deities placed above the names show that they represent Egyptian cities, and we may therefore see in them the chief towns of the Upper Egyptian king for whom we may assume the *plaque* was made. I read the names as follows: "The city of the eight owls, beloved by Horus; the city of the seven *Deb* (?)-birds, beloved by . . .; the city of the Twins [beloved by . . .]; the city of Kheperu-Ru (or perhaps Kheperu) [beloved by . . .); the city of Kau (?) beloved by Sekhet; the city of Pû, beloved by Selk; the city of the kings beloved by the monarch." On the fragment of the *plaque* in the Louvre the emblems of Anubis (twice repeated), Thoth, Horus and Min, are seen on standards, the lower end of which is a hand grasping a rope.*

* The form of the sign for Min makes it clear that the lower sign on the pictures of chapels or stelæ found at Abydos, and given under the numbers 793, 794 and 795 in M. de Morgan's book, must be intended for *Min*. Compare also No. 851 (? *Hâ-ka-Min*).

In the second name the bird is like that which has the value of *deb* in later hieroglyphics, and reminds us of the name of Debu or Edfu, where Horus first overcame his enemies and established his kingdom in Upper Egypt (see Maspero: *Les Forgerons d'Horus et la Légende de l'Horus d'Edfou* in the *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, II. pp. 313–336). It is natural that the first city in the list should be dedicated to Horus, who represented the Pharaonic Egyptians, and the establishment of a monarchy on the banks of the Nile. But the bird may also be intended for the crested ibis (?) or *Khu* of later times; if so, we must remember that the *Khû* are usually identified (as in the Papyrus Hood) with the "Manes" of Manetho, the legendary predecessors of Menes, and that according to the ancient tradition embodied in the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, there were seven *Khû*. Moreover, an old subdivision of the third nome of Upper Egypt was the "district of Zaui," or the "Twins," and the town of Hâ-Zaui is mentioned in the Calendar of Festivals at Esneh, the name being expressed by two birds (*heteri*) which bear a close resemblance to the bird depicted on the *plaque*. At all events the name of the third town on the *plaque* is that of the "Twins," in which I should be inclined to see Hâ-Zaui, between Esneh and Kom el-Ahmar, the ancient Nekhen, opposite El-Kab.

On the name of the fourth town Kheperu-Ru  I can throw no light.

The name of the fifth town seems to be formed by the sign *ka* though it may be some other object) followed by the mark of the plural. The sixth town is Pu,  , where the character for *p* is plainly the picture of a comb, as in one of the stelæ (No. 803) from Abydos. The origin of this common hieroglyphic is thus at last made out.

In the name of the 7th town we have the primitive form of the plant which represents *suten*, "king." The name therefore reads *Sutenîu*, "the royal" city. It was the capital of the kingdom, and is consequently described as "beloved by the monarch," the two hawks seated on standards being shown by an inscription from Abydos, as is pointed out by M. Jéquier, p. 243, *note* 1, to denote royalty.

The name of one more city is found on a fragment of the *plaque*, now in the Louvre. But the bas-relief above it implies that it was a

city of the enemy, and it is not described as "beloved" by any of the gods. It is represented by a small stone pot (*nu*), such as is found in the prehistoric and First Dynasty tombs, in front of which stands a lion rampant (*ma*), the emblem of Sekhet in the Gizeh fragment. The two signs probably form a compound character.

In the "Green Stone" we thus have probably a monument of the conquest of Upper Egypt by the Pharaonic Egyptians, and the establishment there of a monarchy by kings whom later history knew as the Hor-shesû or "followers of Horus." We detect upon it the Egyptian hieroglyphics in the process, as it were, of formation, and can form some idea of the long development that was needed before they became the characters that were used by Menes and his successors.

Yours very truly,
A. H. SAYCE.

P.S.—Since the above was written, it has occurred to me that the following may be an explanation of the  and  between which what seem to be royal names are written on the cylinders. Can they represent  "nine," and  "age," where the later system of writing preserved a recollection of the earlier usage by placing the ideograph ⊙ between the two hieroglyphics? If so the meaning will be, "the age of Nezen" (No. 1), "the nine of Kha, Tezzen" (No. 4), &c. On one of Mr. MacGregor's cylinders, of which I will send a copy hereafter, we have, *Kh-p-nefer* (?) *nu-t-th* s *M-n-a* s *M-n-a-t su-t-n-t mer-r-r-t*, "Khep-nefer (?) . . . in the time of Mena, beloved by the queen Menat." The name of *Nefer kheru* (?) *mâ*, given above, is also found on the clay impression of a cylinder discovered by Prof. Petrie at Ballas. (Petrie: *Negada and Ballas*, LXXX, 1, 2), where it seems to be associated with the *ka* name Saḥu.

Cairo, *Jan.* 27, 1898.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

With reference to Mr. Legge's letter in *Proceedings*, XIX, 302, I will ask space merely for a list of the few points in which the transcription I should propose of the lines in question (1231–1239) diverges from that which he recently published. My copy of the text is practically identical with Dr. Wessely's (*variants*, 1233 ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ, 1235 comma *not* colon, 1236 ⲥ *not* ⲋ).

L. 1233. ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ, as above.

L. 1234. ⲉⲧⲥⲁϩⲣⲏ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲓⲱⲁⲱⲩ, though the subsequent forms, *σαχουν* and *εθηιωθϕ*, perhaps point to ⲭ being ϩ while ϩ is unrepresented.

L. 1235. ⲉⲧⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲓⲱⲁⲱⲩ.

—— ⲉⲙⲁ? *cf.* ⲉⲙⲓ in an earlier passage in the MS. (*A.Z.*, 1883, 94 C).

L. 1236. ⲱⲱⲙⲓ ⲥⲁϧⲟⲗ ⲁⲡⲟ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧ (? *read* ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲡ). But the exact force of ⲥⲁϧⲟⲗ here escapes me.

L. 1239. ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲧⲥ.

Yours very truly,

W. E. CRUM.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 1st March, 1898, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann: "Observations on the Nagadah Period."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

Alker, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
Amélineau, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
———— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
———— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
Amiaud, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
———— A., and L. Mechineau, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
Baethgen, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Blass, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vol. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés pas H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Budinger, M.. De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.
Burckhardt, Eastern Travels.
Cassel, Paulus, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
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———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
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Gayet, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
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Joachim, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
Johns Hopkins University. Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.
Krebs, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
Lederer, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berichsichtignung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
Ledrain, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
Lefèbure, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
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Lehmann, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 vehr, p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.
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Maruchi, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
Müller, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
Noordtzig, Israël's verblijf in Egypte bezien int licht der Egyptische outdekkingen.
Pognon, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
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Third Meeting, 1*st March*, 1898.

THE REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Comité d'Organisation :—Actes du Dixième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Session de Genève, 1894. Comptes Rendus. Sections I to VII, in 4 volumes. Leiden, Brill. 1895–97. 8vo.

From R. A. Rye, Esq. :—The Early History of the Hebrews. By Prof. A. H. Sayce. London. 8vo. 1897.

From G. F. Legge :—Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt. Lectures delivered at University College, London. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. London. 8vo. 1898.

From J. Pollard :—Catalogue of Antiquities from excavations at Deshasheh and Behnesa (Egypt Exploration Fund), and El Kab (Egyptian Research Account). Exhibited at University College, July, 1897. 8vo.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting to be held on the 3rd May, 1898 :—

M. l'Abbé Leuridan, Bibliothècaire des Facultés Catholiques, Lille.

A paper by Prof. Dr. Wiedemann, entitled, "Observations on the Nagadah Period," was read by the Secretary.

Remarks were added by Mr. Jos. Offord, Dr. Hall Gladstone, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. W. Boscawen, Rev. S. D. Brownjohn, Mr. F. W. Read, Mr. John Tuckwell, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAGADAH PERIOD.

BY PROF. DR. A. WIEDEMANN.

(*Received Oct.*, 1897.)

The slate plates of the time before the IVth dynasty,* found in the tombs of the type of Nagadah, have been declared by de Morgan,† evidently correctly, to be amulets, though the proof of this interpretation is still wanting for the single classes. The figures of animals will represent the holy animals of the different gods of this period, as for instance: the hawk will be the animal of Horus of Edfu, in whose legend the remembrance of the oldest time of Egyptian history remained down to the hellenistic period.‡ It is more difficult to ascribe the fish to a determined divinity, the cult of the fish being very insignificant in later times.§ But this was not always the case, as is shown by a series of remarks dispersed through the religious texts. Thus in a passage of the Book of the Dead, very often referred to in ancient times (chap. 15, l. 24 *sq.*), great importance is accorded to the perceiving of the fishes *ânt* and *âbd*,

* This *terminus ante quem* appears to me to be until now the only possible chronological order for this civilisation (*cf.* Wiedemann in the *Umschau*, I, nr. 32 and 33). Dr. Sethe (*Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 6) has lately tried to modify it and to place the discoveries of Amélineau, Petrie and de Morgan, earlier than the IIIrd dynasty, this being called by Manetho Memphitic and making accordingly its burials near Memphis. But, the names of the dynasties of Manetho have nothing to do with the burial places of their kings, as is shown for instance by the name of the 5th Elephantine and the 12th Diospolitic. And even, if it could be proved, that *all* kings of the IIIrd dynasty were buried near Memphis—till now only hints, which could prove it for one king, are at hand—this could be used for the dating of the Nagadah civilisation only, if the objects found in these tombs of the IIIrd dynasty showed another type than the findings at Nagadah-Abydos, a premiss for which till now no support has been brought forward.

† *Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte*, p. 149.

‡ Wiedemann, in the new *Recherches* of de Morgan, p. 225.

§ *Cf.* Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 175 *sqq.*

the fishes appearing here to be in relation with the sun-god Rā, while other texts point to a relation of the fish with Horus.* The tortoise † and the elephant afterwards lost almost entirely their religious value, but this fact does not prevent that value having been very important in ancient times, when the elephant was very well known, as the old graffitis and the name of the island of Elephantine prove, while later on the animal appears merely as a curiosity.

More puzzling than these representations are the geometrical figures very often found. Some of these are to be explained, as Petrie ‡ has shown, as having their origin in the increasing abreviation of animal figures, particularly of fishes and tortoises, but, with others, as with the rhomboids and the rectangles, this derivation is impossible. For the first of these I dare not propose any interpretation, the second appear to me as reproduction of the sign  *ka*. This fact is shown by a rectangular plate in the Gizeh Museum (room 65, nr. 786), where is drawn on the plain surface parallel to the border on the upper, the right and the left side a single line; on the fourth side this line is slightly vaulted on the right and the left, the two vaults joining in the middle into a drawn in point. At the upper part of the line at the right and at the left side a hand is seen with outstretched fingers, the whole forming in this way exactly the sign lying on the plate.

We are accustomed to explain the sign as the representation of two arms lifted upwards; the point sometimes found in the middle of the under line would then be the head of the person who lifts up her hands. The Egyptians of the later periods had similar ideas; they took the sign generally as synonymous with  , and brought it together with the root *ka*, "lift high, be high." But it appears to be very doubtful if this explanation is right in every case and at all times. Just for the conception, for which the sign

* *Book of the Dead*, 88, l. 2. The fishes, who play a part in the myth of the dismemberment of Horus (*Book of the Dead*, 113; *cf.* Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVII, p. 11) will belong to this order of ideas.

† The animal appears, *Book of the Dead*, 36 and 161 (*cf.* Renouf, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VIII, p. 214) as an enemy of the sun-god. A demon with tortoise head is found, Champ. *Not. Manuscr.*, I, p. 418; a wooden statue with such a head is at London (publ. Lanzone, *Diz. di mit.*, p. 124). *Book of the Dead*, 83 (*cf.* the Thebean texts), the dead person wishes to have some relation with the tortoise.

‡ *Naqada*, p. 43.

is the most often used as an ideogram, the name of the second I of the man, the relation with "be high" does not fit, as we do not find emphasized in this *ka* a fundamental quality, which has to be connected with such an idea in the litteral or figured sense.

Another point is, that the position of the sign is not always the same. It appears often in already very ancient texts upside down  , not only in the title *ḥen-ka*, but also at other places,* and even laid on one side  , thus contradicting the ordinary explanation. With this also the manner is not congruent in which the sign is written by exception on some old monuments. There one or two horizontal lines run from one joint of the hand to the other,† representing evidently strings with which the arms are bound together. Under these circumstances I believe that the comprehension of the sign in the designation of the human *Ka*—in the writing of *ka*, "high," the old idea will have to remain—must be taken from another side.

It is well known that Petrie has found at Tukh as well as at Medum corpses showing the two arms standing in right angles from the body. If we take the sign *ka* for the abbreviated representation of such a body, on which the two arms could be bound together to give them the right position during the stiffening, the origin of the sign as well as all the peculiarities of its use are explained, particularly its applying to the dead, which is quite equivalent to the manner of designing the Osiris by a figure of the enveloped mummy.

The importance of the *Ka* in the minds in the period of Nagadah needs no proof. As it was then usual to give to the dead king in his tomb a stela with his *Ka* name, thus it appears to have been a custom to put a rectangular slate plate with the subject as representation of his *Ka*. That inscriptions, especially proper names, are wanting on these pieces, will have the same reason which induced the men of this time to put nearly all objects uninscribed in the tombs, a custom kept up to the beginning of the Old Empire, where the interior of the pyramids and tomb chambers remained textless. They probably feared that the human and animal figures in the hieroglyphs could win life, and thus become dangerous to the

* For instance, Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 74.

† It is noteworthy that this writing is found even on the scarabs of Mykerinos, made in the XVIIIth dynasty (Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 31), apparently in imitation of old originals, the writing of *Ka* being in this period regularly the simple form  .

deceased, a peril which the later Egyptians tried to avoid in the more recent pyramid texts, by representing only parts of the figures, and down to the XIIth dynasty by decapitating sometimes in the funerary inscriptions the snakes, as also by suppressing the legs of the birds, etc.

The independence of the *Ka* from the man was even greater in the early times than afterwards. Till the Vth dynasty not uncommonly prophets of the *Ka* of the king are to be found. This priestly office has been generally taken as being identical with the prophets of the king himself. But this is not the case; it is a double cult, of which the vestiges are to be found in these two designations. This is proved by the fact, that the same man could quote side by side the two priestly offices as being held by himself; as the king's son Kedech-schepses does on a calcarious pillar, now in the Gizeh Museum (room 1), where he appears as   "prophet of the *Ka* of Snefru, prophet of King Snefru." This division of the personality of the king will explain the phenomenon that some of the early kings had two pyramids, one will have been the tomb of the king, the other the tomb of his *Ka*.

Proceeding from these remarks it might be supposed, that the tombs discovered by Amélineau at Abydos are but sham tombs for the *Ka* of the king destined for the funeral service;* and that the find helps to prove this idea by the appearance of the *Ka* name in the texts of these tombs, and their position just at Abydos, in the centre of the divine service devoted to the ancestors, especially of the Pharaohs. I could not agree with these conclusions. Firstly, these buildings are not only found at Abydos, but also at Nagadah, never quoted anywhere as an important place for burial service, and there the one is a real tomb with human ashes. Then the predominence of the *Ka* name does not permit any further going conclusion, as the systematic distinction between the different king names of the later period did not yet exist at the beginning of Egyptian history.

The *Ka* name which appears afterwards hardly ever isolated, is there found alone not only in titles relating to its cult† or on

* A similar idea has been expressed by Lefébure in the *Mélusine*, VIII, p. 231.

† See above and *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXX, p. 62, *sqq.*

monuments, which could be in relation with this cult,* but also in rock inscriptions† or even over the representation of a king killing his enemy, on one of the most interesting monuments of the Nagadah period, the ebony tablet of King Den (?), published by Spiegelberg.‡ This old custom was mostly given up after the middle empire, only in the XXVIth dynasty, which liked to revive the institutions of primitive Egypt, it occurs again, and on a monument of this time King Apries is followed by his co-regent Amasis, designated only by his *Ka* name.§

Down to the XIIth dynasty the *Ka* name and the name behind the title, "lord of the two diadems," used to be the same.‖ In a series of inscriptions found by Amélineau, of which some have lately been published,¶ the *Ka* name follows the titles  . Down to the time of Pepi, the nomen and the prenomen of the kings follow pell-mell the titles  or  ; the two titles may even be placed together before one name. That in the old time no distinction between the nomen and the prenomen was made as a rule, is proved also by the fact, that generally the names for the four first dynasties are identical in the king list of Manetho and those on the monuments. In the later time they differ, because the monuments give the prenomen and Manetho the nomen of the Pharaohs. That this is not the case for the beginning shows, that or the *sa-rā*

* Vase with the *Ka* name of Cheops, Leps., *Denkm.*, II, 2 d. (for the reading of the name see *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXX, p. 52, *sqq.*)

† *Ka* name Neter-cha (Bénédite, *Rec. de trav.*, etc., XVI, p. 104).

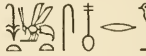
‡ *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 7, *sqq.*

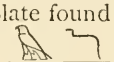
§ Champ., *Mon.*, IV, pl. 443, nr. 1; *cf.* Wiedemann, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1878, p. 5.

‖ A series of examples, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXX, p. 53.

¶ G. Sethe, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 3, *sq.* The signs which follow the *Ka* name in the inscription published by Sethe, p. 5, and which he presumes to contain the real king name, have, as an analogous text discovered by Amélineau shows, nothing to do with it, but give a name or title connected to a building, whose name is enclosed in  . It will be, therefore, advisable to renounce for the moment to the old king Chent, whose name the Egyptians of the new empire misread Kebḥu, notwithstanding its being rightly written, etc., as Sethe exposes. The existence of the king-name Chent, given by Lepsius, *Koenigsbuch*, nr. 917, as doubtful, after a notice by Brugsch, appears to me the more uncertain, as Brugsch himself, so far as I know, never again took notice of this personality.

name did then not yet exist at all, what appears doubtful to me,* or that it was not yet strongly distinguished from the prenomen.

Lastly, in the oldest time not even the cartouche was regularly given to the king's name. Spiegelberg † has quoted there an instance of the time of Snefru, found by Quibell. A parallel to it is found in a flat hemispherical bowl with a diameter of 15·3 cm., a height of 5 cm., of grey spotted white granite, made on the wheel, which I bought in 1881 at Thebes, stated to have come from Erment. On the inside is engraved the inscription  and  . Snefru has no cartouche. Other monuments of the same period have the cartouche, which, at the moment it first appears, has already the form  , so that the pretended original form of the cartouche  is quite hypothetical.‡

On an ivory plate found in the king tomb at Nagadah,§ instead of  the title  appears, in which the place of Nechebit will have been given to the god of Hieraconpolis, a town situated opposite Eileithyiaspolis. The title is not here, as in other places written by itself, but is enclosed in contour lines. On the right and on the left three parallel lines are placed vertically, they unite above with a sloping roof. The whole rests on a horizontal line, which bears also the *Ka* name of the king. On this line is drawn inside the surrounding lines an arrangement of four contiguous cones,

* It has often been repeated, that the use of the title *sa-rā* begins only with the Vth dynasty (Wiedemann in the *Muséon*, XIII, p. 372), and in fact it is generally not found in the few historical notes we possess of the IVth dynasty. Nevertheless it occurs, for instance, on the second statue of King Chephren at Gizeh, and, if even this statue were of later origin, as we are told, I cannot imagine, that the artist, who made this work, was so exceedingly foolish, or careless, as to give to the king, whose portrait he had made, a title that king never bore.

† *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 11.

‡ Sethe, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 4. In reference to the "restoration" of the door in the step pyramid of Saqqarah I would like to say that the idea of its late origin, expressed first by Stern and myself on account of the material used in it, appears to me, in view of a series of newly found antiquities, much less certain. It is very doutful if ever in later time a king's name was intentionally written without the cartouche, except in the cases, where it appears as the name of a god. On the monument published by Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXX, p. 40, the cartoucheless Menna he took for King Menes can very well be a private person, as the text on Stela 7295 at Berlin (publ. Wiedemann in the *Mélanges de Harlez*, p. 376) shows, which quotes an Amon-Rā of Surereï as well as here appears a Ptah of Menna.

§ Morgan, *Recherches*, II, p. 167 ; *cf.* Jéquier, *l.c.*, p. 259.

through which runs a horizontal line, crossed in the two middle cones by a vertical line. The outline in its idea calls to mind the outline of the *Ka* name, which represents * the so-called false door of the tomb with the quadrangular plate above it, containing the name of the dead person, or perhaps † the door leading to the mummy chamber, the dwelling place of the *Ka*, this later room being represented by the rectangle above the door.

It will not appear an improbable guess, that the outline appearing for the first time at Nagadah, may represent in an analogous manner a second dwelling place of the deceased Pharaoh. Firstly, one might quote the two buildings represented at the occasion of the journey to Pe named in the burial ceremonies.‡ The first of these has the ordinary house shape, the second a sloping roof. But, as the latter form is always, as far as I know, inscribed in a rectangle and never isolated, this idea appears very doubtful. It will be better to think of the pavilion, in which many examples show the deceased, playing, for instance, draughts, this pavilion being side by side with a rectangular building, on which the Ba of the deceased is often sitting. The pavilion is always seen from the side; if it has a door, this is seen from the front inserted in the front wall, so that the person sitting in the pavilion may not be covered by it. If it was not necessary to show a view into the interior of the building, as in the sign  or in the tomb-pictures,§ the monuments are seen from the front and the door is placed in its centre.

A similar pavilion formed one of the oldest, if not the oldest shape of the Egyptian chapel.‖ On the fore side of this building, drawn in side view, we see in the oldest representation the beams passing above the roof, and others standing here horizontally out of the building, probably to offer the opportunity of fixing offerings

* Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. 20, p. 21, *sqq.*

† Maspero, *Et. égypt.*, II, p. 275.

‡ Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. 21; *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, ed. Tylor, pl. 8.

§ *Cf.* Maspero, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., II, plate for p. 107.

‖ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 9; *cf.* Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 74, 77. In later time (for instance even Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I*, I, pl. 31) the "divine dwelling-place" of Anubis is often written  , where the  of Mar., *Mast.*, p. 77, 88, 70, etc., has the form of the outline of our ivory tablet, showing the side view instead of the front view.

upon them. Beneath these beams a small hedge is represented, indicating the closing of the building by palisades.

I think this hedge deserves particular notice, as it appears to be identical with the cone arrangement in our outline, which would then indicate the enclosure placed before this building. I must confess, that seeing for the first time the monument, I had another impression, and tried to recognise in the cones an hieroglyphic sign corresponding to perhaps the later  , which might have pointed to a part of the king's names or title *men*, and brought to mind the well-known Menâ. But the fact that, as yet Lauth * remarked, in the Old Empire and likewise in the Nagadah period the name behind  is identical with the *Ka* name, being here  , and that the sign is here not free within the outline, but placed on its lower end line, compelled me to renounce this idea.† Nevertheless the similarity with remains, and it is possible that designs like this one gave to the Egyptians an analogous impression, so that they used it afterwards as an ornament in the representations of sarcophagus doors, placing it then over the architrave.‡

The contour of  is till now alone of its kind,  being written in historical times without such an ornament. It may have happened here the contrary as with the name of the king: the name stood first alone and afterwards placed in the cartouche, the title lost a similar distinction. Maspero§ has explained that the cartouche owes its origin to the plates placed beside the door of a prince's house and bearing his names. The outline of the *Ka* name carries forward the memory of a building belonging to its bearer.

* *Manetho*, p. 80.

† As far as I can see, this king name is always written by , its complement  and a final  or . Only on the very late stela, Louvre, *Serapeum*, nr. 328 (the cartouche Leps., *Koenigsb.*, nr. 878) quoting a priest of the statues of Nectanebus I, the last sign is wanting, and only remains, but behind it is a space left blank, in which perhaps should have been inserted the ; a writing with alone has not yet been found. The determinative of the person given to the name by the kings list of Turin will have only the purpose to distinguish it from the name of the Mnevis.

‡ Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 9; Maspero in *Mém. du Caire*, I, pl. 5, 6, 8; Mariette, *Dend.*, II, 50, shows only the board. *Cf.* the strange representation, Mar., *Dend.*, IV, 35.

§ *Et. égypt.*, II, p. 283.

Our outline belongs to the same category, pointing to another mansion of the Pharaoh, to his pavilion, which calls to mind in its form the oldest house of the divinity, and also the baldachino, under which the king showed himself to his people. In its picture was written the title of the man to whom it belonged—the name connected with this title being given afterwards in the *Ka* form, with what it was identical—as well as in the *Ka* outline and in the cartouche we found parts of his name. That the outline of the title was not pronounced in reading it, would have its parallel in the not pronouncing of the cartouche, as well as for instance in the not pronouncing of the outline in the late writing  for  alone.

At the beginning of this communication we had to note that the hawk was one of the holy animals of the Nagadah period. Its position above the *Ka* name of the king confirms this idea. But it is not always alone there, seal impressions on large pot covers found by Amélineau at Abydos bear it, opposite to a standing jackal-like animal in a similar juxtaposition, as at other places the hawk and the sitting Set animal are found.* It must be noted, however, that elsewhere  or  do not appear as substitues for  over the *Ka* name, but rather, if also not in the series of the king's titles, nevertheless in practical use, as corresponding to  .

Much has been written about the animal consecrated to Set. After having again examined its different representations, it appears to me the most probable, that it shows a phantastically altered double of the Anubis jackal. From a zoological point of view the figure of the Set animal corresponds to no really existing being, just as in the figures of the Anubis jackal, often very much resembling the Set animal, scientific accuracy is very often wanting. To the ancients the systematic distinction, which we now make between the different species of animals, was not customary. Dog, jackal, and wolf, who are combined in the holy animal of Anubis, are also classed together in the notions of many other nations, and are conceived in their religions in analogous ways, as demons of the

* Variants of these seal-impressions give, instead of the jackal, the standing Set animal (de Morgan, *Recherches*, II, p. 243, *sq.*). For the interchange of the standing and lying animal, see Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 225.

world of the dead or as their attributes.* In this character, as demon of the dead, the fundamental ideas contained in Anubis and Set, are similar. A parallelism between the two may be found also in other points. As well as we find side by side with the jackal-Anubis, in the Osiris legend, the jackal drawing the sun boat in the cycle of Rā, we know beside the Set, the enemy of Osiris, a Set connected with Rā as his defender. And, as Horus and Set represent in their union Upper and Lower Egypt, thus the same idea is expressed by the association of the hawk-headed and the jackal-headed demons, called the spirits of Pe (Buto) and of Nechen,† to which are devoted chapters 112 and 113 in the *Book of the Dead*.‡

A similar allegorical combination of hawk and jackal is found at another place. The drapery of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis shows already in the oldest tombs of Saqqarah § as braces some very singular zigzag lines corresponding to the broken lines often found painted on the pottery of the Nagadah type. At the ends of the front side the head of a hawk, and opposite that of a jackal are posted. The title of this high priest, "the chief worker," contains a curious parallel to a series of figures of the cycle of Horus of Edfu, to his *mesniti-u*, "the metal men," as we shall have to think also in the Memphitic title in the first rank of metal work. The dwarf-like Chnumu, who helped Ptah in the creation of the world, appear to enter in the same cycle of ideas. Their deformation, parts of the clothing of Ptah, the fact that the ancients took him as corresponding with Hephaestos, all shows that he and his companions were connected with qualities generally ascribed to the Smiths.‖ Un-

* See W. H. Roscher, *Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side*, p. 25, *sqq.*, in the *Abh. der Leipziger Akad.*, XVII.

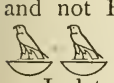
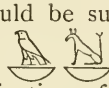
† Wiedemann, *Religion of the ancient Egyptians*, p. 163. Nechen is declared by Brugsch (*Dict. géogr.*, p. 352, *sq.*, 1227) and Dümichen (*Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 59) to be a sanctuary in or quite near Eileithyiaspolis; Renouf (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVII, p. 10) identifies it with Hieraconpolis, situated opposite to El Kab. For Hieraconpolis, see Bouriant in the *Études dédiées à Leemans*, p. 35, *sqq.*

‡ It is noteworthy, that chap. 113, treating of the hawk-headed spirits of Nechen, contains allusions to the legend about the dismemberment of Horus (see Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVII, p. 11), which, as I have exposed in the new *Recherches* of de Morgan, is connected with the custom of the Nagadah period to cut the corpse in pieces.

§ Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 74. For further examples see Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXIII, p. 22, *sq.*

‖ Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 397, *sqq.*; *Religion of the ancient Egyptians*, p. 131, *sqq.*

fortunately, it has been till now impossible to pursue this point of view more at length, as we know very little of the original god Ptah. The later indications of the monuments cannot be used with safety for this purpose, as in these the corruption of the pure idea of Ptah by combination with his neighbour god, Sokaris, and even with Osiris, had already taken place.

The jackal or its god played in all cases an important rôle at the beginning of Egyptian history. He appears several times on seal-impressions and other relics of the Nagadah period, and it is noteworthy in this connection that in the representation of the victory of the kings Den (?), Cheops and Sahura over some people on the eastern frontier of Egypt, a large standard, bearing a standing jackal is posted side by side with the principal scene.* Under these circumstances it is possible that the  which are quoted several times in the Nagadah period, and of which a prophet is known also from a tomb of Saqqarah,† are Horus and Anubis, and not Horus and Set, as could be supposed by the variant ‡  of the new empire for  .

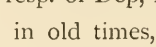
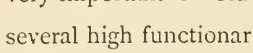
In later periods such a combination of two gods would point to a sense corresponding to the idea of uniting Upper and Lower Egypt, as well as the titles  and  found already in the Nagadah period for the king, would then do it. But I do not think that the origin of these titles can be derived from this idea of bipartition of the kingdom. Le Page Renouf referred some years ago to the fact that  were at first the titles of the high priests at Coptos and Heracleopolis Magna,§ and put therefore the king in relation with the divinities of these two towns. A similar idea gave origin to the title  , as it appears. The former refers to a connection with the vulture, the sacred animal of the goddess Nechebit of Eileithyiaspolis, a centre of the Nagadah civilisation, as the excava-

* Spiegelberg, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 8; Leps., *Denkm.*, II, 2*b*, 39*f.*; *cf.* also the curious passage Palermo-stone (ed. Pellegrini in the *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, *N. S.*, XX), pl. 2, col. 1.

† Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 104.

‡ Leps. *Denkm.*, III, 186, 246, *a.c.* The name of the nomos of the two gods (part of the tenth nomos of Upper Egypt. *cf.* Dümichen, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 162, *sqq.*) refers to Horus and Set.

§ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XII, p. 358.

tions of Quibell at El-Kab have shown. The divinity was already worshipped during the ancient empire also in Lower Egypt.*  refers to the goddess Uat'it, designed nearly everywhere as the mistress of Pe, resp. of Dep, it is to say of Buto,† a town which was very important in old times, as the title  given to several high functionaries at this period ‡ attests. It may even be possible to guess from the passage of the pyramid of Pepi I, l. 684,  "the bearers of the red crown, which are at Pe," that it was an old king town, an hypothesis which finds a certain support in the legend of the Horus who came out from Buto to become a king of Egypt. The importance of Buto decreased in the following time, as well as that of other towns in the Delta. We can follow this process still in the cult of the divinities of some of these towns. During the old empire Bast, Neith, and others are very often quoted, and their priestdom is a distinction for the highest functionaries; afterwards this ceases, to be revived again only in the Saïtic time, when the Delta again became most important in the history and development of Egypt.

In general Nechen and Pe are considered to be the two coronation towns of Egypt, and still at Esneh a divinity says:§ "I give to thee (the king) the white crown at Nechen, the red crown at Pe," and the title  is referred to this fact. But strangely enough the two symbols which the title literally indicates are not the two crowns  and  , but the vulture and the uræus, and of these two the king bears only the latter, the former being reserved for the queen,|| the best proof that the double crown in the latter definition was not alluded to in all times by the title.

* For instance, Mar., *Mast.*, p. 303. For the relation of primitive Egypt with Libya it may be noted in this context that the Barkeans in Libya took the vulture to be a holy animal (Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, X, 22).

† See for the town, Brugsch, *Dict. geogr.*, p. 178, 213, *sqq.*, 1154, *sqq.*; for the goddess, Lanzone, *Diz. di mit.*, p. 179, *sq.*

‡ Mar., *Mastaba*, p. 80, *Voy. dans la Haute Egypte*, pl. 16; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10, etc.

§ Brugsch, *Dict. geogr.*, p. 354.

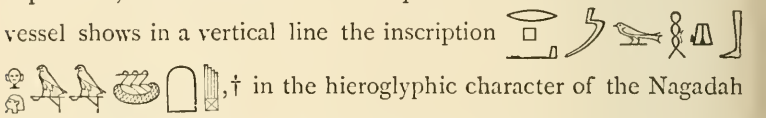
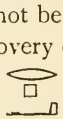
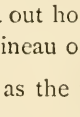
|| Wiedemann, in the *Muséon*, XIII, p. 375, *sqq.* About the historical development of this title and its reading *smaui*, uniter of the two Egypts, proposed by Erman, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXIX, p. 57, I shall have to speak more in detail at another time.

At all events it appears to me that from the appearance of these titles in the Nagadah period we can gather only the one fact that the kings of this time liked to be considered as beings in relation with the divinities or rather the cult of the divinities of Edfu, Eileithyiaspolis, Koptos, Heracleopolis Magna, Buto, and a town devoted to the jackal god or to Set, but not that the titles have to be taken already in this time in the sense of the public law of the later periods. For such an explanation the proof would be wanting.

The practical consequence remains untouched by these considerations. The king may have obtained his titles through motives of civil law or through religious deductions. In all cases he intended from them to be considered as the master of whole Egypt; and as the kings bear them in the Nagadah period, this shows that already the whole country, or at least by far the largest part, was in the hands of one monarch. But it is another question whether on ground of the existence of these titles we have a right to date all monuments bearing them in the time after Menes, that is to say after the beginning of the first dynasty of Manetho. It is true that in modern works Menes is the first king of the first dynasty, *and* the uniter of Egypt out of its two prehistorical parts. For the old Egyptians he was indeed the oldest entirely human king of whom the compilers of the kings' list at the beginning of the New Empire had any knowledge, but he is not the first who, according to their opinion, bore the title  , which at their time was considered to denote the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and out of which modern authors have derived the idea of his unification of the kingdom. In the most complete of these lists, in the Royal Papyrus of Turin, the gods who precede Menes bear the same title in the same way, so that the restorers of Egyptian history, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, on the assertions of whom our knowledge of the oldest time to a large amount rests, assumed their country to have been already united in the time before the beginning of the so-called first dynasty.

Another point, upon which Sethe * relies to prove that the relics of the Nagadah civilisation date from the end of the Ist dynasty, consists in the fact, that a fragment of a vase discovered by Amélineau at Abydos, and communicated by him to Mr. Erman,

* *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXV, p. 2, *sqq.*

contains a king name appearing to be identical with that of the King Miebaïs of Manetho (the identification of a second king name with Usaphais, reposing only on the hypothesis, that the later Egyptians misread the old name; it is not possible to draw conclusions out of this monument). But, as far as I see, the proof is wanting that the first monument came out of the tomb of the king it quotes. It might be a votive gift, which may be of more recent date than the tomb itself. That the tombs found by Amélineau contain in fact such votive gifts, is proved by a magnificent cup of granite,* discovered in the tomb of the king with the *Ka* name  . I owe the knowledge of this piece to the happy finder, and would like to express at this place to M. Amélineau my sincerest thanks for the friendly and kind way in which he showed me the most valuable and interesting collection he brought back from his latest expedition, and authorised me to publish this document. The vessel shows in a vertical line the inscription  ,† in the hieroglyphic character of the Nagadah period. It need not be pointed out how valuable the light is, thrown again by this discovery of Amélineau on the civilisation of this time. The political title  as well as the religious title  , used for a priest of the Sun,‡ especially already at the beginning of the IVth dynasty,§ at Heliopolis, are quite new for the period. For the moment the essential thing is, that the place where this cup was found shows, that all the objects found in these king tombs do not belong to the Pharaoh himself, but that some of them are offerings, which need not necessarily give exactly the date of the tomb, but only a *terminus quo* or *ante quem* it was performed.

One of the most puzzling customs of the Nagadah period was the decapitation of the deceased. I have tried in another

* See Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos* (1896–97), p. 35, 44.

† The birds in the nest have the mouth open. The following sign is much smaller on the original and is hatched by oblique lines.  is given instead of a sign, for which an equivalent is wanting in the types; it consists of four rectangular oblongs posted vertically; above the last three, three others of the same form are posted.

‡ Wiedemann, *Proc. Bibl. Arch.*, XI, p. 72, *sqq.*

§ For instance Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10.

place * to explain that the remembrance of this ceremony did not disappear completely in later times, although I was unable then to bring forward an example which could indicate that it was really then performed, if only exceptionally. But in a passage † overlooked by myself, Macalister describes between a longer series of mummy-heads he had occasion to examine the following, about the finding place or age of which he unhappily gives no indication: 'One head had been cut off completely through the first cervical vertebra, and a stick of sycomore wood, smeared with asphalte, had been driven up into the head to peg it to the spine of the body. The head had been cut off for me low down, and so well had the bandages been applied that it was not until we had stripped them off that we detected the pre-sepulchral decapitation."

As it will be not likely that in this case we have a criminal who was first decapitated and afterwards embalmed in an honourable manner, it will be necessary to declare the mummy to be that of a man to whom "the head was restored after it had been cut off,"‡ that the old ritual of Nagadah was fulfilled on him, but that after its termination the body was made complete again and embalmed according to the Osiris ritual.

It would be worth while to examine the so-called re-made mummies to see if they show only the damages occasioned to the finished mummy by grave-robbers, or if on the contrary it is distinctly evident that the decapitation took place sometimes before the body was prepared for burial. The decapitation of the body might have been done with good intentions, in order to make it easier for the man to enter into the other world, but on the other hand it might also have had the egoistic purpose of rendering it difficult for him to return as a ghost. Here, as elsewhere, in the judgment about Egyptian funereal ceremonies, it is necessary not to forget that they wished not only to be useful to the deceased, but also to protect the living, as is similarly the case with all simply-feeling people. Already some time ago the fact has been noted that the so-called false mummies were intended to deceive the dead. Visiting the grave and seeing the linen cloth in the coffin, it was intended that he should think that his mummy still existed, lest

* In the new *Recherches* of de Morgan, p. 207.

† Notes on *Egyptian Mummies in Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, XXIII. London, 1894, p. 116.

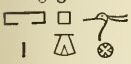
‡ *Book of the Dead*, chap. 43, l. 1.

he should avenge its loss on living people. An analogous feeling may have existed and prompted the restoration of the corpse after it had been decapitated. Seeing the body the spirit of the dead person considered it to be complete, and remained well intentioned towards those who buried him, but if he tried to vivify it so as to go about in this world, that was made impossible, his head would fall down and he had lost the capacity of again having a human form. Taken from this point of view, the decapitation of the dead offers a complete parallel to the treatment of the body in the countries in which the belief in vampires has remained in its old strength, and gives a new proof to the fact that the manner of thought remained the same from the oldest times of which history knows down to our days.

NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.—V.

PAR G. MASPERO.

(*Suite.**)

§ 31.—La Stèle de Piônkhi-Miamoun mentionne un bourg de  Pipouga,† dont le site ne me paraît pas avoir été déterminé de matière exacte. E. de Rougé en rapprochait le nom de celui de l'*ouou* d'Abydos, ce qui ne cadrait nullement avec les conditions du récit.‡ Lauth reconnut que c'était une localité située au voisinage d'Héracléopolis, et l'identifia avec Poushîn-Boush.§ Brugsch enfin croit qu'il s'agit du village d'el-Beka البكا, el-Beky البكى, situé au Nord-Ouest de Feshn.‖ Les circonstances dans lesquelles Pipouga est nommée me paraissent contraire à cette dernière identification.

Il résulte en effet du contexte que l'armée et la flotte éthiopienne, marchant au secours d'Héracléopolis qui était menacée par les forces de Tafnakhti, arriva  *ar khonît ni Khanensou* pour offrir la bataille aux ennemis (l. 17). Ceux-ci l'ayant acceptée furent battus et perdirent leurs vaisseaux sur le fleuve  . "Lorsqu'eut passé le reste des vaincus, abordant à l'Occident au lieu de Pipouga, le lendemain, à l'aube, les soldats de Sa Majesté passèrent vers eux," et une seconde bataille s'engagea, cette fois sur terre, comme le prouve la mention des chevaux tués (l. 20–21). Les expressions dont le scribe s'est servi permettent de

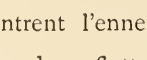
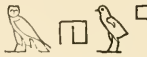
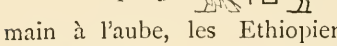
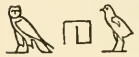
* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, page 327.

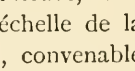
† Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 2, l. 20.

‡ E. de Rougé, *la Stèle du roi Ethiopien Piânkhi-Meriamen*, p. 18, note 3.

§ Lauth, *die Pianchi-Stele*, 1870, p. 38.

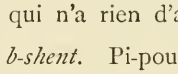
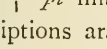
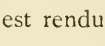
‖ Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 228.

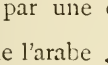
rétablir l'ordre des faits et la physionomie de la bataille. Les Ethiopiens rencontrent l'ennemi  "en avant de Khanensou," et les deux flottes se mêlent. Lorsque la bataille est perdue, les restes des Egyptiens se sauvent par le fleuve  Zaou, et ils abordent  *moni* à l'Occident  , au lieu de Pipouga  *m-haou pi-pouga:* le lendemain à l'aube, les Ethiopiens les suivent par la même voie  *Zaou-ne-manfiou ne-honou-f*, et la bataille s'engage de nouveau. Il résulte de là : 1° que l'endroit considéré par les Egyptiens comme étant  l'*avant* de Khanensou était sur le Nil en avant de Pipouga, et assez près de ce lieu pour qu'on pût y arriver le même jour après la bataille ; 2° que Pipouga était sur la rive gauche du Nil et auprès du fleuve, puisqu'on pouvait aborder  *m-haou* dans son voisinage immédiat. Or ce dernier trait suffit à écarter le site moderne d'el-Beky. El-Beky البكى est en effet, non point sur le Nil, mais sur le Bahr-Yousouf, à dix ou onze kilomètres du fleuve, comme on le verra aisément en consultant la carte à grande échelle de la Commission d'Egypte.* L'identification de Brugsch, convenable si l'on ne considére que la similitude des noms, devient donc impossible, du moment qu'on fait entrer en balance les circonstances du récit.

Je veux essayer de montrer ce que les Egyptiens entendaient par l'*avant de Khanensou*  , et par suite, de fixer l'emplacement de Pipouga. Brugsch a fort bien montré que le terme  *khonît*, signifie l'*avant* d'un objet quelconque, sa partie extrême, et qu'appliqué à un territoire, il en désigne *le commencement*,† surtout le commencement vers le Sud, du côté où les Egyptiens s'orientaient. Or, le *commencement* du nome Héracléopolitain au Sud, direction d'où venait l'armée éthiopienne, est assez aisé à marquer sur la carte de façon générale. Ce nome, compris entre le Nil, le Bahr-Yousouf, et des canaux qui réunissaient les deux bras principaux du fleuve, formait une sorte de grande île, et les géographes grecs,

* *Description de l'Egypte*, Atlas, f. 16.

† Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, *Supplément*, p. 947.

Strabon et Ptolémée, le définissent une île.* Jomard, qui avait étudié la question sur les lieux, plaçait la pointe méridionale de l'île à Harabshent, et il considérait le canal d'Harabshent comme délimitant le côté sud.† *L'avant de Khanensou*, ou, si l'on préfére, le *commencement de Khanensou*  , est donc au point où l'*île* héracléopolitaine *commençait*, soit vers Harabshent, et peut-être la dernière partie du nom actuel, qui n'a rien d'arabe, renferme-t-elle ce terme de  *p-khenti* = *b-shent*. Pi-pouga, situé un peu au-dela du *commencement de Khanensou*, doit donc se trouver dans l'île même, près de la rive, à petite distance au Nord d'Harabshent, et de fait, je rencontre sur la carte, à deux kilomètres de ce point, un bourg d'*el-Fokâi* الفقاعى, qui répond fort bien aux conditions du récit. Le  *pi* initial est tombé, ce qui arrive fréquemment dans les transcriptions arabes, ainsi dans Tell-Bastah pour Bou-bastis  . Ici d'ailleurs la chûte n'est peut-être qu'apparente, et il est probable que l'article ال *el* répond au *pi*, égyptien confondu avec l'article copte ⲡⲓ, ⲡ. Le  *p* est rendu par le ف *fa*, et le  par le ق *ka;* le ع *aîn* final, qui n'a pas d'équivalent dans  *pouga*, s'explique par une étymologie populaire, qui aura déduit le nom *El-Foka*, de l'arabe فَقَعَ, فُقُوع, *flavus fuit*, فَقَعَ *ruber fuit.*

Je placerai donc le lieu de la première bataille sur le Nil, un peu au Sud et en vue d'Harabshent, celui de la seconde et le site de  *Pi-pouga* à El-Fokâ.

§ 32.—L'inscription de l'*Obélisque* raconte que, "dans l'an X^ème^ de son règne, pour la huitième fois, Salmanasar III passa l'Euphrate. Je m'emparai des villes de Sangar de Gargamish; je m'avançai vers les villes d'Aramé, je m'emparai d'Arné, sa ville royale, et de cent de ses villes. Dans la onzième année de mon régne, pour la neuvième fois, je passai l'Euphrate, je m'emparai de villes sans nombre. Je descendis vers les villes du prince du pays d'Amat, je m'emparai de quatre-vingt-neuf villes. Dadda-idri, roi du pays

* Strabon, XVII, I, § 35, p. 809; Ptolémée, *Geogr.*, I, l. iv, p. 120.

† Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomide, S^on^ IV*, dans la *Description de l'Egypte*, t. III, p. 400-402. Il songe aussi au canal de Bibéh, qui est à quelques kilomètres au Nord, mais il préfére celui d'Harabshent (*cfr.* p. 420).

d'Imérîshou, et douze rois du pays de Khatti se rangèrent aux côtés les uns des autres : je les défis." * Les historiens ont admis jusqu'à présent qu'il s'agissait ici d'Aramé Ourartaya, d'Aramé l'Ourardien, et que la seconde partie de la campagne entreprise par Salmanasar en l'an X de son règne avait eu pour théâtre une partie quelconque de l'Arménie.†

Les mêmes événements sont racontés dans l'*Inscription des Taureaux*, mais avec des particularités qui ont excité l'attention de la critique. Les deux campagnes de l'an X et de l'an XI y sont décrites de telle façon qu'elles paraissent avoir eu la même marche du commencement jusqu'à la fin, et n'être qu'un doublet l'une de l'autre dans la plupart de leurs détails :

AN X.	AN XI.
Dans la X^e année de mon règne,	Dans la XI^e année de mon règne, je partis de Ninive, pour
pour la huitième fois je franchis l'Euphrate.	la neuvième fois je franchis l'Euphrate dans son plein.
Je renversai, détruisis, livrai aux flammes les villes de Sangar de Gargamish.	Je m'emparai de 97 villes de Sangar.
Je quittai les villes du roi de Gargamish, je m'avançai vers les villes d'Aramé. Je m'emparai d'Arné, sa ville royale, je la renversai, la détruisis, la livrai aux flammes avec 100 villes des alentours.	Je m'emparai de 100 villes d'Aramé, je les renversai, les détruisis, les livrai aux flammes.
	Je pris le long de l'Amanus, je franchis la montagne d'Yarakou et je descendis aux villes du prince d'Amat ; je m'emparai d'Ashtamakou avec 99 autres villes ;
Je leur tuai du monde, je leur pris du butin.	je leur tuai du monde et leur pris du butin.

* *Inscription de l'Obélisque*, l. 85–89.

† Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 187, 201 ; Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 197. Hommel passe cette expédition sous silence dans son histoire.

AN X.

Alors Dadda-Idri, roi du pays d'Imérishou, Irkhoulini du pays d'Amat, avec douze rois du littoral de la mer, se confièrent mutuellement dans leurs forces et se jetèrent à ma rencontre pour me livrer combat et bataille. Je combattis avec eux et leur infligeai une défaite.

Je leur pris leurs chars, leurs chevaux, leur matériel de guerre : pour sauver leur vie, ils gagnèrent la montagne.*

AN XI.

Alors Dadda-idri, roi du pays d'Imérishou, Irkhoulini du pays d'Amat, avec douze rois du littoral de la mer, se confièrent mutuellement dans leurs forces et se jetèrent à ma rencontre, pour me livrer combat et bataille. Je combattis avec eux et leur infligeai une défaite ; je fis tomber sous mes armes 10,000 de leurs soldats. Je leur pris leurs chars, leurs chevaux, leur matériel de guerre.

A mon retour, je m'emparai d'Apparazou, ville forte d'Aramé. Je reçus alors le tribut de Garparoundi, le Patinien, de l'argent, de l'or, de l'étain, des chevaux, des bœufs, des moutons, des étoffes de lin.

Je gravis l'Amanus et j'y coupai des madriers de cédre.†

Le texte actuel de la campagne de l'an X contient un membre de phrase, *je leur tuai du monde et leur pris du butin*, qui ne se raccorde pas logiquement à celui qui le précéde. Un coup d'œil sur la partie correspondante de la campagne de l'an XI montre qu'il appartenait originairement à un épisode qui a été enlevé : le scribe, en retranchant les lignes relatives à l'itinéraire et aux progrès de l'armée assyrienne, a respecté maladroitement la mention du carnage et du butin qui les complétait. Les faits relatifs au retour de Salmanasar, après sa recontre avec la ligue damasquine en l'an XI, ont été supprimés dans la version que le *Taureau* No. 2 donne de cette campagne, et cette omission augmente encore la ressemblance qu'on remarque entre le récit des deux expéditions. Il est évident que le scribe qui avait rédigé la chronique écrite sur les deux taureaux a reproduit deux fois l'histoire des mêmes faits

* *Inscription du Taureau* No. I, l. 29-34.

† *Inscription du Taureau* No. I, 35-41.

sous deux dates différentes. Son erreur a été reconnue par les historiens modernes, et ils admettent, à l'exemple de Tiele, qu' "il a pris deux rédactions diverses du même document, qui comprenait deux années de guerre, pour deux documents comprenant chacun une année de guerre différente, et qu'il les a mis bout à bout." Il faut en ce cas, pour corriger cette inadvertance, se laisser guider par le texte de l'*Obélisque*, reléguer sous la date de l'an X la campagne contre Sangar et contre Aramé, et ne considérer comme ayant appartenu à l'an XI que la campagne dirigée contre la ligue damasquine.*

On ne saurait douter que le rédacteur de l'inscription des taureaux n'ait reproduit deux fois de suite le même récit, mais son erreur porte-t-elle sur la première partie, celle qui raconte les mésaventures de Sangar et d'Aramé, comme le veut Tiele, ou porte-t-elle sur la seconde partie, celle qui raconte le choc entre Assyriens et Damasquins? Prenons les deux notices de l'Obélisque et des Taureaux, puis comparons-les l'une à l'autre. Voici d'abord pour l'an X :

Obélisque.	Taureaux.
Dans la X^{e} année de mon règne, pour la huitième fois, je franchis l'Euphrate.	Dans la X^{e} année de mon règne, pour la huitième fois, je franchis l'Euphrate.
Je m'emparai des villes de Sangar de Gargamish.	Je renversai, détruisis, livrai aux flammes les villes de Sangar de Gargamish.
Je m'avançai vers les villes d'Aramé. Je m'emparai d'Arné, sa ville royale,	Je quittai les villes du roi de Gargamish, je m'avançai vers les villes d'Aramé. Je m'emparai d'Arné, sa ville royale, je la renversai, la détruisis et la livrai aux flammes avec 100 villes des alentours.
et de 100 de ses villes.	Je leur tuai du monde, je leur pris du butin.
	Alors Dadda-idri, roi du pays d'Imérishou, Irkhoulini, roi du pays d'Amat, avec douze rois du littoral se confièrent mutuellement dans leurs forces, etc.

* Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 201–202.

Le récit des taureaux est, en ce qui concerne Sangar et Aramé, identique à celui de l'*Obélisque:* il n'en diffère que par quelques fleurs de rhétorique assyrienne, intercalées entre les mots nécessaires à l'exposition sommaire des faits. Mais, à partir de la phrase *Je leur tuai du monde, etc.*, l'*Obélisque* ne présente plus l'équivalent du texte des Taureaux. Or, une guerre avec les Damasquins était trop importante pour être passée entièrement sous silence, surtout une guerre heureuse, comme celle que l'*inscription des Taureaux* ajoute en cet endroit. Il est donc certain que le scribe s'est trompé, et qu'il a mis en l'an X une partie des évenements de l'an XI.

Passons maintenant à la campagne de l'an XI et confrontons les deux récits qu'en donnent l'*Obélisque* et les *Taureaux*, de la même manière que nous avons fait pour la campagne de l'an X.

OBÉLISQUE.	TAUREAUX.
Dans la XI^e année de mon règne, pour la neuvième fois, je franchis l'Euphrate	Dans la XI^e année de mon règne, je partis de Ninive, pour la neuvième fois, je franchis l'Euphrate en son plein.
Je m'emparai de villes sans nombre ; je descendis aux villes du Khâti	Je m'emparai de 97 villes de Sangar ; je m'emparai de 100 villes d'Aramé, je les renversai, les détruisis, les livrai aux flammes.
	Je pris le long de l'Amanus, je franchis la montagne d'Yarakou,
et du prince d'Amat ; je m'emparai de 89 villes.	et je descendis aux villes du prince d'Amat ; je m'emparai d'Ashtamakou avec 99 autres villes ; je leur tuai du monde e leur pris du butin.
Dadda-idri, roi du pays d'Iméri-shou,	Alors Dadda-idri, roi du pays d'Imérishou, Irkhoulini du pays
et douze rois du pays de Khatti, se rangèrent aux côtés les uns des autres :	d'Amat, avec douze rois du littoral de la mer, se confièrent mutuellement dans leurs forces et se jetèrent à ma rencontre, pour me livrer combat et bataille.
	Je combattis avec eux et leur

OBÉLISQUE.	TAUREAUX.
je leur infligeai une défaite.	infligeai une défaite : je fis tomber sous mes armes 10,000 de leurs soldats. Je leur pris leurs chars, leurs chevaux, leur matériel de guerre. A mon retour, je m'emparai d'Apparazou, ville forte d'Aramé, etc.

Ici, on le voit, le récit de la guerre contre Sangar et Aramé, tel qu'il est donné par l'*inscription des Taureaux*, trouve son équivalent sur l'*Obélisque ;* les 97 villes de l'un et les 100 villes de l'autre sont *les villes sans nombre* dont Salmanasar s'empara, après avoir franchi l'Euphrate et avant de *descendre aux villes du prince d'Amat.* Ce début de campagne n'est pas, somme toute, plus abrégé que le récit de la bataille livrée à Dadda-idri. Il y a donc là trois moments, distingués nettement sur les deux documents : 1° prise de villes (Sangar et Aramé) du pays des Khati, entre les gués de l'Euphrate et la frontière d'Amat ; 2° succès dans le pays d'Amat (Amanus, Yarakou, Ashtamakou) ; 3° bataille entre les Assyriens et les Damasquins ; l'*inscription des Taureaux* ajoute 4° au retour, une razzia contre Aramé, le tribut de Garparoundi, une pointe vers l'Amanus pour couper des cédres. En résumé, la campagne de l'an XI renferme des opérations contre Sangar et contre Aramé comme celle de l'an X, et, de plus que celle-ci, des opérations contre la ligue damasquine. Le scribe a été trompé par la récurrence des mêmes noms d'Aramé et de Sangar sous les deux dates consécutives, et il a appliqué à l'an X le récit complet des événements de l'an XI. Son erreur ne provient donc pas, comme on le pense généralement, de ce qu'il a pris les deux versions d'un document, contenant le récit des événements de deux années, pour deux documents différents contenant chacun le récit d'une année. Elle résulte plutôt de ce que deux années consécutives lui offraient le même enchaînement de combats livrés contre les mêmes ennemis : il a été entraîné à répéter deux fois la mention de la bataille contre Dadda-idri, parce qu'il trouvait deux fois la mention d'Aramé et de Sangar en l'an X et en l'an XI. Sa faute n'est pas d'avoir mené Salmanasar deux fois de suite contre Aramé et contre Sangar, mais de l'avoir opposé deux fois de suite à Dadda-idri.

Ainsi, en l'an X, campagne contre Sangar et contre Aramé, puis

retour à Ninive; en l'an XI, campagne contre Sangar et contre Aramé, puis invasion en Amat et bataille avec Dadda-idri, puis au retour, collision nouvelle avec Aramé, tribut de Garparoundi, visite à l'Amanus: voila le sommaire des événements pour deux ans. La suite des faits s'explique-t-elle naturellement si l'on admet qu'Aramé est le roi d'Ourartou? Non certes, car en l'an XI, on ne comprendrait pas les mouvements d'une armée qui, ayant passé l'Euphrate et ayant pillé le royaume de Carchémis, se trouverait ensuite en Arménie sur le territoire d'Aramé, reparaîtrait aussitôt après aux bords de l'Oronte pour y triompher de la ligue damasquine, puis au retour pillerait une nouvelle ville d'Arménie, Apparazou, y recevrait le tribut du prince de Patinou, et s'en irait d'Arménie abattre des cédres sur l'Amanus, avant de rentrer à Ninive. Les mouvements sont trop décousus, et les localités trop dispersées, pour qu'on puisse se contenter de l'explication courante. Cet Aramé, dont on pille les états après ceux de Sangar le Gargamishien à l'aller vers Amat, dont on quitte le territoire pour monter dans l'Amanos et dans les domaines du prince d'Amat (Hamath), qui est assez voisin du Patinou pour que le pillage d'une de ses villes décide Garparounda à payer tribut, il doit être un prince syrien différent d'Aramé, le roi d'Ourartou, et, de fait, l'histoire de cette époque nous fait connaître un second Aramé, Aramé prince d'Agousî, qui paya tribut à Salmanasar en l'an I * en l'an VI,† et qui lui fit de nouveau la guerre en l'an XXV.‡ Il me paraît difficile de ne pas reconnaître ce personnage dans l'Aramé des campagnes de l'an X et de l'an XI.

L'Agousî ou, par chûte de l'*aleph* initial, le Gousî, était un des États aramées qui prennent leur nom soit de l'éponyme de la tribu, soit du fondateur de la dynastie: son sobriquet de Bit-Agousî n'empêchait pas le nom réel, Iakhanou, Akhanou, de subsister dans la mémoire du peuple.§ Le site de cette localité n'a pas été fixé exactement sur la carte: Schrader se contente de dire qu'il est entre l'Amanus et l'Euphrate, Tiele près de l'Amanus,‖ Delattre, aux sources du Karasou et de l'Afrîn;¶ Hommel répète à son sujet les

* *Inscription du Monolithe*, col. II, l. 12–13.

† *Inscription du Monolithe*, col. II, l. 83.

‡ *Inscription de l'Obélisque*, l. 120–131.

§ *Annales d'Assournazirabal*, col. III, l. 71–77; *cfr.* Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 207, note 1.

‖ Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 176.

¶ Delattre, *l'Asie Occidentale dans les Inscriptions Assyriennes*, p. 52–53.

termes même dont se sert Schrader,* Winckler enfin lui donne Arpad pour capitale dès le temps de Salmanasar II,† et Rost le fait limitrophe du Samalla.‡ La façon même dont les textes de Tiglatphalazar III parlent de l'Agousî donnent raison à Winckler: Arpad était dans l'Agousî. Je crois même que l'analyse des inscriptions nous permet d'indiquer une partie des frontières du pays au temps d'Assournazirabal et de Salmanasar III. Assournazirabal, parti de Gargamish, passe entre les monts Mounzigani et Khamourgâ, *il laisse sur la gauche le pays d'Akhanou*, et s'approche de Khazaz, ville du Patinou, puis, allant toujours de l'avant, il franchit l'Aprî, établit un camp fortifié, s'approche de Kounouloua, la ville royale de Loubarna, roi du Patinou, la force et reçoit sous les murs de cette cité le tribut de Gousî, prince d'Iakhanou; il traverse enfin l'Oronte.§ Pour aller de Carchémis à Khazaz, Assournazirabal a suivi la route actuelle de Djêrâbis à Azzâz, telle qu'est marquée sur la carte de Rey, par Zembour, Karageuz-keui, Ayash, Tatar-keui, Taibouk. Les monts Mounzigani et Khamourgâ, entre lesquels il chemine, doivent être les rangées de collines basaltiques basses qui commencent au-delà du Sadjour entre Karageuz-keui et Tel-Ar,‖ et qui donnent à cette partie de la contrée un aspect caractéristique. C'est au sortir de cette région, soit vers Tatar-keui, qu'il laisse sur sa gauche, c'est-à-dire, au Sud de sa route, le pays d'Iakhanou, pour pousser droit à Khazaz: c'est en effet entre Tash-euyuk et Tatar-keui que la route de Khazaz se détache de celles qui ménent à Alep, et, dans l'antiquité, à Arpad. De ces diverses observations, on peut déduire les points suivants: 1° Khazaz étant la première ville du Patinou, et Assournazirabal n'indiquant aucun changement de souveraineté avant cette ville, les Assyriens marchèrent jusqu' auprès d'elle sur le territoire de Gargamish, et, en fixant la frontière des deux États, Gargamish et le Patinou, vers le Kowéïk, on ne risque guères de se tromper beaucoup; 2° Assournazirabal, laissant sur sa gauche le Iakhanou, entre Tatar-keui et Azzaz, on ne risque pas non plus de se tromper beaucoup en plaçant la frontière du royaume de Gargamish et celle du Iakhanou sur une ligne tracée à faible distance de la route, par Kayîbéh, Turkman-keui, Taboût, Djibrîn, Kefer-Khasse;

* Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 581, note 1.
† Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 85, note 2.
‡ Rost, *die Keilschriftexte Tiglat-Pilasers* III, p. xviii, note 3.
§ *Annales d'Assournazirabal*, l. 70–79.
‖ Sachau, *Reise in Syrien*, p. 454.

bien entendu, je cite ces localités pour donner la direction générale de la ligne, sans prétendre que la limite passât exactement par aucune d'elles. L'Agousî confinait donc vers le Nord-Est à la principauté de Carchémis, vers le Nord-Ouest à celle de Patinou. La proximité de l'Afrîn rend probable qu'à l'Ouest cette rivière servait de limite au Patinou et au Bît-Agousi sur une petite partie de son cours, jusque vers Tell-Berki ou Remadi, puis, de l'un ou l'autre de ces endroits, une ligne arbitraire tirée du fleuve et filant quelque part entre Alep et Tourmanîn. Somme toute, le Bît-Agousî répondait en gros à la Chalybonitis des temps gréco-romains.

Si ces conclusions sont admises, on comprendra mieux le rôle important qu'Arpad joue pendant le VIII^e^ siècle. Sa puissance ne serait pas née vers l'époque de Rammânnirari, comme on l'a cru le plus souvent, mais elle était déjà en pleine floraison un siècle plus tôt, sous Assournazirabal. La principauté à qui elle servait de capitale, l'Agousî, était, ce que fut Alep beaucoup plus tard, la clef de la Syrie Septentrionale, et elle résista presque aussi longtemps que Damas aux attaques répétés des Assyriens.

§ 33.—Dans sa vingt-troisième année, Salmanasar III franchit l'Euphrate pour la vingt et unième fois et descendit au Tabal. Il y reçut le tribut de vingt-quatre rois, puis il se rendit au mont Tourat, une montagne d'argent, une montagne de *moulou*, une montagne de pierre *shamoulli* (*gishshirgal*).* Le nom de la montagne est écrit de façon ambigue : le signe initial  *tou*, est tracé à le fin de la ligne 106, et le signe final  *rat*, au lieu d'être reporté sur la même face au début de la ligne 107, se lit en retour, sur la face C de l'Obélisque, au début de la ligne 134, séparé du texte de cette ligne par un trait vertical.† C'est ce qui explique que, chez plusieurs assyriologues, et notamment chez Winckler,‡ le nom soit donné comme incomplet, *Tou* . . . . .

Je ne trouve dans la région cilicienne aucun nom de montagne qu'on puisse rapprocher de celui que le texte assyrien a conservé, mais le renseignement qui nous est fourni sur les produits du sol peut nous servir à fixer la localité : où nous trouverons deux carrières de pierre rare et une mine d'argent, là sera le Tourat. Une seule chaîne réunit ces conditions, dans les régions où Salmanasar III nous méne,

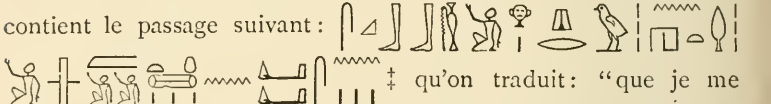
* *Inscription de l'Obélisque*, l. 104–107.

† Amiaud-Scheil, *les Inscriptions de Salmanasar* II, p. 62–63.

‡ Winckler, *Inschriften Salmanassar's* II, dans Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, t. I, p. 142–148.

celle qui domine au Nord la plaine de Marash. "On connait aussi à Marach, dit Vital Cuinet,* *une mine d'argent* et une mine de fer non exploitées, et *deux belles carrières, l'une de marbre rose, l'autre de marbre noir.*" Et il répéte la même assertion un peu plus loin : "Une autre mine de fer est connue ainsi qu'*une mine d'argent*, mais elles ne sont pas exploitées. *Il y a aussi dans les environs une carrière de beau marbre rose et une autre de marbre noir.*"† Le mont Tourat serait donc l'Aghir-dagh, le Kour-dagh, le groupe de montagnes où Cuinet signale la mine d'argent et les deux carrières : Salmanasar, après avoir parcouru une partie du pays des Tabal, se serait rabattu sur Marash, par la vallée du Pyramos, et il aurait regagné l'Euphrate par la plaine de Bazardjik.

Les deux espèces de pierre mentionnées dans le texte assyrien seraient donc l'une un marbre rose, l'autre un marbre noir.

§ 34. La stèle C 55 du Louvre, dont l'inscription nous donne le type d'une des formules les plus intéressantes du Nouvel-Empire, contient le passage suivant :  ‡ qu'on traduit : "que je me rafraîchisse sous mes sycomores, que je mange *les fruits de leurs branches*,"§ ou "May I refresh my face beneath my sycamores, may I eat *bread of their giving*."‖ J'aurai occasion d'analyser ailleurs les procédés de composition employés par le rédacteur de la formule, et je me bornerai à dire ici, sans insister, que les deux membres de phrase cités se rattachent au membre de phrase précédent : "mon âme se pose (*ou* plane) sur les branches du jardin que je me suis fait, et je me rafraichis sous mes sycomores, je mange des pains qu'ils donnent." Je ne veux interpréter pour le moment que le sens religieux du passage.

Il rappelle immédiatement une scène qui est figurée souvent sur les peintures des cercueils et des papyrus funéraires. Le mort, arrivé aux confins de la terre cultivée et du désert, rencontre un sycomore des branches duquel la déesse Nouît, ou une déesse

* V. Cuinet, *la Turquie d'Asie*, t. II, p. 138.

† V. Cuinet, *la Turquie d'Asie*, t. II, p. 231.

‡ Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Egyptiens*, p. xvii, l. 6.

§ Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites*, t. II, p. 90, avec la faute du copie  litt. *bras, mains*, au lieu de  .

‖ Budge, *Notes on Egyptian Stelæ, principally of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, dans les *Transactions*, t. VIII, p. 301, 507-508.

analogue, Hâthor surtout, jaillit pour lui tendre, d'une main, un plateau chargé de pains, de gâteaux et de fleurs, de l'autre un vase à libations regorgeant d'eau fraîche. Le mort qui buvait et mangeait, devenait le féal de la déesse, et désormais, selon une idée commune à beaucoup de peuples, il ne pouvait plus quitter le service des dieux de l'autre monde auquel il s'était attaché de la sorte, pour reprendre sa place sur terre parmi les vivants.* Les variantes graphiques du tableau sont nombreuses. Le plus souvent la déesse est figurée debout dans le feuillage de l'arbre, où sortant à mi corps du tronc et des rameaux ; quelquefois un corps humain est le tronc même d'où les branches jaillissent, comme c'est le cas sur un beau sarcophage d'époque saite, conservé au Musée de Marseille ;† plus souvent le bras divin est seul visible et paraît au-dehors du tronc pour y rentrer aussitôt, de la même manière que les têtes ou les bras qui sortent des haches, des caisses et des divers objets animés qui sont figurés en si grand nombre au *Livre de savoir ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*.‡





Ce premier goûter symbolique, le mort s'attendait à le renouveler aussi souvent qu'il lui plairait dans l'autre vie, et les tableaux peints ou sculptés dans les hypogées thébains le montrent souvent assis, accroupi ou debout auprès de son bassin, devant ou sous un sycomore d'où la déesse lui tend un vase ou un plateau. L'ensemble des détails prouve qu'alors on a voulu le représenter, non plus aux limites des deux mondes, mais sur notre terre, dans son jardin qu'il visite et où il vient s'abattre à volonté pendant le jour. Ainsi, dans

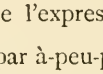
* Maspero, *Etudes de Mythologie*, t. II, p. 225–227.

† Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Egyptien Marseille*, p. 52, où c'est le mort lui-même, divinisé, qui, après avoir reçu l'eau de Nouît, se transforme en sycomore et reverse l'eau à ses âmes.

‡ *Etudes de Mythologie*, t. II, p. 104–105, 108, 124, 126, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138.

le tableau copié par Rosellini,* le sycomore est posé auprès d'un de ces bassins en T, encombrés de plantes aquatiques et peuplés d'oiseaux et de poissons, qui se rencontraient dans la plupart des villas égyptiennes. Les exemples de cette scène sont si nombreux et si connus qu'il me suffit d'avoir cité celui-là, pour que tous ceux qui ont vu ou étudié les tombeaux de Sheikh Abd-el-Gournah se les rappellent aussitôt.

Le texte du passage cité de la formule doit donc être pris au pied de la lettre et interprété matériellement, comme dans la plupart des cas où nous voulons comprendre exactement la pensée des Egyptiens. Le mort, une fois installé dans ce jardin funéraire qu'il s'était préparé lui-même, pouvait s'y rafraîchir à volonté sous ses propres sycomores, à l'eau que la déesse cachée dans leur tronc lui versait, et s'y rassasier aux pains que ces arbres lui donnaient sur le plateau que la déesse lui tendait. Le sycomore avait été choisi à cause de son ombre et de ses figues, et pour les raisons naturelles que j'ai exposées ailleurs. La déesse qui animait chacun d'eux n'était pas toujours visible dans la ramure, mais le mort, quand il désirait la voir paraître avec ses provisions, devait l'évoquer en prononçant la prière qui avait pouvoir sur elle. Elle sortait alors, entière ou en partie seulement, puis, sitôt qu'il avait eu d'elle ce qu'il souhaitait, elle rentrait dans sa demeure, et son arbre la résorbait ou, pour employer l'expression brutale qu'affectionnaient les scribes en pareil cas, il la *mangeait*.†

§ 35. Le sens général de l'expression  est connu depuis longtemps, et on la traduit par à-peu-près, *Salut à toi . . .*, *Hommage à toi . . . . .*, *Honneur à toi . . . . .*, et autres formules analogues, qui suffisent dans la plupart des cas. J'en ai donné, à diverses reprises, depuis vingt ans, dans mes Cours du Collége de France, une explication que je n'ai point publiée, et que je ne me rappelle avoir rencontrée nulle part.

La locution est formée du verbe  et du substantif  . Le verbe  , se lit  , AZ,‡ puis  ANZ,§ puis 

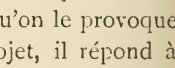
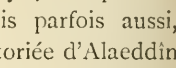
* *Monumenti Civili*, pl. CXXXIV, 1.
† *Etudes de Mythologie*, t. II, p. 104–105.
‡ *Ounas*, l. 575, *Papi I*, l. 192, *Mirinrî*, l. 53, 57, 364, 407.
§ *Teti*, l. 278.

NZ. Le signe lui-même est, ainsi que M. Soldi l'a bien vu,* non pas un maillet, mais un foret, l'instrument à frotter ou à percer le bois, par suite à faire le feu : il est composé de la tige centrale qui agit, et de la corde qui manœuvre la tige  . Le verbe qui est écrit par cet instrument peut donc répondre au sens *percer*, si l'on considére une des actions du vilbrequin, au sens *frotter*, si l'on considére une autre de ces actions, le frottement sur le bois et l'inflammation qui en résulte : il faut, pour choisir entre les deux, chercher un autre emploi du mot qui ne laisse pas prise au doute. Or  NZ veut dire également, ainsi qu'on le sait depuis longtemps, *broyer*, *écraser*, ⲛⲟⲩϯ *T.M.*, *molere*, d'où  , ⲛⲟⲩϯ *M.*, ⲛⲟⲉⲓϯ *T.* ⲡ, ⲙⲓ, *farina*, ⲛⲟⲩϯ *T.* ⲡ, *mola*, et cet emploi du verbe oblige à préférer le sens *écraser*, ou plutôt le sens *frotter*. Il convient en effet, si l'on veut préciser la nuance, de se rappeler comment les Egyptiens procédaient pour se procurer la farine. L'ouvrier, presque toujours une femme, étalait quelques poignées de grains sur une pierre oblongue, qui offrait une surface concave inclinée légèrement, puis il les écrasait avec une pierre plus petite, en forme de molette, qu'il mouillait par intervalles. Il pesait des deux mains sur la molette et lui faisait subir un faible mouvement de rotation : le grain était réduit en poudre par le frottement continu, non par la concussion. Ajoutons que le branle circulaire imprimé à la molette justifie l'hypothèse de Brugsch, d'après laquelle $\sqrt{\text{NZ}}$ aurait eu pour sens primitif *tourner*, *wenden*, *drehen :* l'allume-feu  NOUZOU,  AZOU, aurait été à l'origine *le tourneur*, et le sens *frotter*, *écraser*, serait un sens secondaire, dérivé du mouvement de la femme qui fabrique la farine. Secondaire ou non, le sens *frotter*, *écraser par frottement*, existe, et c'est celui qui prévaut à l'époque historique lorsqu'il s'agit de préparer la farine, les couleurs, les poudres médicinales extraites des végétaux, des minéraux et même des animaux.

 AZOU-HOROU, peut donc signifier *frotter la face*, et, s'il le signifie réellement, quel rapport y a-t-il entre l'opération que

* *Le langue sacrée*, p. 213, 215–218. M. Soldi pense que le vase qui suit le mot  est un déterminatif d'idée, les vases en pierre dure étant forés et évidés par l'outil qu'ils déterminaient.

cette traduction indique et l'idée de salut? On sait combien les gestes de salut et de prière sont variés dans le monde barbare. Chez tel peuple, on saisit entre le pouce et l'index le nez de la personne qu'on veut saluer.* Chez tel autre, les deux interlocuteurs s'embrassent, se frottent le nez, crachent dans leurs mains puis se frottent mutuellement la face de leur paume mouillée.† Je ne multiplierai pas les exemples, car je ne crois pas qu'il faille chercher dans cette direction l'explication de la formule. Le possesseur d'un talisman magique, lorsqu'il veut évoquer l'esprit qui y est attaché, frotte l'objet, quel qu'il soit, qui représente le talisman. Pour ne citer que des faits familiers à tous dès l'enfance, les héros des contes rassemblés dans les *Mille et une Nuits* frottent l'anneau ou la lampe merveilleuse, et cette action est si efficace que, si une personne ignorante, comme la mère d'Aladin, frotte la lampe trop rudement, le génie apparaît furieux à plus grand bruit que d'ordinaire;‡ ils frappent encore du doigt des signes tracés sur un tambour de cuivre, et tous les esprits de l'univers se tiennent à leur disposition.§ Le mécanisme de l'opération est facile à deviner. Un esprit a été tantôt logé dans un objet, tantôt attaché simplement à cet objet par la force des paroles et des opérations magiques: tant qu'on ne le suscite pas, il demeure inerte et caché, mais, sitôt qu'on le provoque en frottant l'objet ou un point déterminé de l'objet, il répond à l'appel. Le plus souvent il se rend visible, mais parfois aussi, comme pour le tambour d'Asem, pour la pierre historiée d'Alaeddîn Abou-shamat, il ne se dèvoile pas et ne se manifeste que par ses effets: dans tous les cas, le frottement est nécessaire pour produire l'intervention du pouvoir occulte contenu dans le talisman.

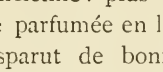
Je rattache à cette même idée l'origine de l'expression  ANZ-HR. Il ne s'agit pas d'un geste de supplication par lequel on caresse la figure de la statue divine, car le verbe  NOUZOU signifie *frotter rudement*, à la façon dont on broie le grain pour le réduire en farine: il s'agit au contraire d'un geste dur et presque

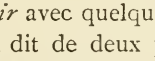
* La tribu américane des Arapahoes tirait son nom de cette habitude (Blackmore, dans les *Transactions of the Ethn. Society*, 1869, p. 310).

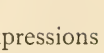
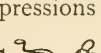
† Ainsi chez les Esquimaux d'après Kotzebue, *Voyages*, trad. angl., t. I, p. 193–195, et chez les Comanches (Bancroft, *Native Races*, t. I, p. 519).

‡ *Cfr.* l'histoire du Second Calender, 47e–48e Nuit, celle du faux Khalife, 192e–193e, celle d'Ali Djohary, 519e Nuit.

§ Histoire d'Asem et de la reine des esprits, 456e–457e Nuits.

violent. Le dévot frotte avec force  la face  de l'image divine, afin d'attirer l'attention de l'esprit qu'elle contient et de le rendre attentif à ses prières. C'est un moyen brutal et dont l'emploi nous reporte à une époque très ancienne: plus tard, on préféra oindre la face d'huile ou de graisse parfumée en la caressant d'un seul doigt. Le geste original disparut de bonne heure, mais l'expression en subsista dans le langage religieux, chaque fois qu'on voulut s'adresser à un dieu, ou à un roi, fils du Soleil et chair de dieu, et *frotter-ta-face*  devint l'équivalent de *salut à toi*, *Hommage à toi*, ou plus exactement *Appel-à-toi!*  NOUZOU-HAROU, forma un mot composé, qu'on employa dans tous les sens dérivés auxquels prêtait la signification primitive. Le *frottement de face*, l'appel, était accompagné d'une offrande destinée à excuser ce que le procédé avait de brutal, à justifier le trouble apporté à la quiétude du dieu invoqué, et à payer son aide.  NOUZOU-HAROU s'élève alors à la puissance de substantif et devient  NOUZOUÎT-HAROU, litt. "*le frottement de face*," l'hommage, le cadeau qu'on fait au dieu, ou au mort divinisé et pourvu de statues de double, lors de la cérémonie du *frottement de face:* le mort divinisé voit alors *le bœuf d'hommage* et *l'hommage qu'on lui amène de ses domaines éternelles*  : il compte cet hommage et il en suppute la valeur exacte lorsqu'on le lui apporte dans son tombeau  .

Il me paraît qu'on peut rapporter au même sens *frotter* un certain nombre des expressions composées avec le verbe  NOUZOU. D'abord  NOUZOU-RO, litt. "*frotter la bouche*," par métaphore, *discuter*, *causer*, *s'entretenir* avec quelqu'un. Y a-t-il une image, comme chez nous, lorsqu'on dit de deux personnes qui se sont disputées qu'elles ont eu *une prise de bec*, ou qu'*elles se sont prises de bec?* ou bien y a-t-il la marque d'une cérémonie employée dans la discussion ou dans la conversation polie à une époque très ancienne? Je penche vers cette dernière interprétation, qu'on peut appuyer de quelques exemples, mais je me borne à l'indiquer ici. De ce premier sens, métaphorique ou non, dérivent par analogie les

expressions comme  , puis, par report sur le verbe  NOUZOU isolé, du sens qui résulte de l'ensemble de l'expression composée, le sens *inspecter*, *prendre soin*, etc. Le terme NOUZOU, qui désignait l'action purement matérielle d'*écraser en frottant*, *frotter*, passe au sens abstrait, comme dans nos langues latines, le terme matériel *discutere* au sens abstrait du français *discuter*, *discussion*.

§ 36.—D'après la tradition hermétique, Démocrite d'Abdére, "arrivé en Egypte, y fut initié aux mystéres par la grand Ostanés, dans le sanctuaire de Memphis, par lui et ses disciples, prêtres d'Egypte. Tirant de lui ses principes, il composa quatre livres de teinture sur l'or et l'argent, sur les pierres et sur la pourpre. Par ces mots *tirant ses principes*, j'entends qu'il écrivit d'après le grand Ostanés. Car cet écrivain est le premier qui ait émis les axiomes: *la nature est charmée par la nature*, et *la nature domine la nature*, et *la nature triomphe de la nature*, etc." D'après ce passage, il semble bien qu'Ostanés soit un Egyptien, mais bientôt Synésios ajoute: "[Démocrite], en parlant du grand Ostanés, atteste que celui-ci ne s'est pas servi des projections des Egyptiens, ni de leurs procédés de cuisson; mais qu'il opérait sur les substances avec des enduits placés au-dehors, et faisant agir le feu il effectuait la préparation. Et il ajoute: "*C'est l'usage chez les Perses d'opérer ainsi.*"* Voilà donc Ostanés rattaché par ses procédés opératoires à la tradition persane, et considéré comme un adepte des mages. Une tradition très ancienne, rapportée déjà par Pline,† faisait décidément de lui un Persan et un mage. Une légende, racontée par Diogéne Laerce, assurait que Xerxès avait laissé à Abdére, chez son père Hégésistrate, des mages et des Chaldéens pour enseigner au jeune Démocrite la théologie et la magie: Ostanés aurait été un de ces mages, précepteurs de Démocrite. On a identifié Ostanés le mage avec l'Ostanés d'Hérodote, qui fut le beau-père de Xerxès.‡ Je n'insiste pas sur cette confusion: l'important c'est de constater qu'il y avait dans l'antiquité deux courants d'information opposés, l'un d'après lequel Ostanés aurait été un Egyptien, l'autre d'après lequel il aurait été un Chaldéen ou un Perse.§

* Berthelot, *Collection des anciens Alchimistes Grecs*, t. I, p. 57–58, t. II, p. 61–62.

† *Hist. Nat.*, XXX, II.

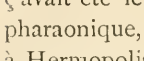
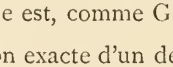
‡ Berthelot, *les Origins de l'Alchimie*, p. 163–167.

§ Diogène Laerce, IX, 34.

Prenons, dans les écrits attribués à Démocrite lui-même, ce qui a rapport à son prétendu maître Ostanés, et voyons ce que dit le philosophe. Le début des *Questions Naturelles et Mystérieuses* est en assez mauvais état, mais les fragments qu'on y lit * peuvent se compléter pour le sens, par le dialogue de Synésios que j'ai cité plus haut, et par le commentaire de Zozime. Démocrite vient en Egypte, à Memphis ; il y est accueilli par le grand Ostanés et par ses disciples, dans le sanctuaire de la ville, c'est-à-dire dans le temple de Phtah, qui était devenu le laboratoire principal de la science égyptienne. Ostanés mourut pourtant avant de l'avoir initié, sans lui laisser les livres où il avait condensé les résultats de ses expériences. "Il avait, à ce qu'on prétend, pris un poison pour séparer son âme de son corps, ou bien, à ce que dit son fils, il avait avalé du poison par mégarde. Or, avant sa mort, il comptait montrer les livres à son fils seulement, quand celui-ci aurait dépassé le premier âge. Aucun de nous ne savait rien de ces livres." Démocrite aurait évoqué son maître de l'Hadés, en lui adressant directement ces mots : "Par quels dons récompenses-tu ce que j'ai fait pour toi ?" Comme Démocrite revenait plusieurs fois à la charge, Ostanés lui répondit qu'il ne pouvait parler sans la permission du Génie—δαίμονος—et il ajouta : "Les Livres sont dans le temple." On les y chercha donc, mais sans rien trouver, et le philosophe se donna un mal terrible pour savoir comment éxécuter les opérations nécessaires. Il les accomplit tant bien que mal, puis, "le temps étant venu d'une cérémonie dans le temple, nous fîmes un festin en commun. Donc, comme nous étions dans le naos, tout d'un coup, une certaine colonne s'ouvrit, mais nous n'y vîmes rien à l'intérieur. Or, ni le fils d'Ostanés ni personne ne nous avait dit que les livres de son père y eussent été déposés. S'étant avancé, il nous conduisit à la colonne : nous étant penchés, nous vîmes avec surprise que rien ne nous avait échappé, sauf cette formule précieuse que nous y trouvâmes : *La nature jouit de la nature ; la nature triomphe de la nature ; la nature maîtrise la nature.* Nous fûmes très surpris qu'il eût rassemblé en si peu de mots tout son écrit."

Ce qui frappe dans ce récit, c'est la couleur franchement égyptienne de la mise en scène. Le lieu de l'action est un temple égyptien, celui de Phtah à Memphis. L'ouvrage cherché se mani-

* Berthelot, *Collection des Alchimistes Grecs*, t. I, p. 42–43, t. II, p. 44–45 ; cfr. *les Origines de l'Alchimie*, p. 150–154.

feste dans le temple par un effet de la volonté divine, comme ç'avait été le cas pour beaucoup des écrits mystiques de l'Egypte pharaonique, pour le Chapitre LXIV du *Livre des Morts*, découvert à Hermopolis sur une brique d'albâtre,* pour le traité de médecine, apparu à Coptos sous Khéops, par un nuit de lune.† Le nom d'Ostanés lui-même est, comme Goodwin l'a montré, il y a vingt-cinq ans, la transcription exacte d'un des noms du dieu Thot  ,  *Austanou, Ostané.* Cet Ostané était à l'origine un des cynocéphales qui formaient l'ogdoade hermopolitaine, puis il s'était confondu avec Thot lui-même. Les Egyptiens dérivaient son nom du verbe  *satonou, satanou :* il était le  *satanou-tooui, le nomenclateur des deux Terres,*  *qui est Thot.*‡ A l'époque Ptolémaique, cette variante de Thot prit de l'importance et elle fut représentée assez souvent dans les temples. Ostané avait ses livres comme Thot, remplis de prescriptions minutieuses,§ et il jouissait des mêmes prérogatives que son prototype : on peut donc admettre légitimement qu'aux temps Alexandrins, Thot fut connu aux Grecs sous sa forme Ostanou-Ostané comme sous sa forme Tahouïti, sous la figure d'Ostanés, comme sous celle d'Hermès. La transformation d'Ostanés-dieu en Ostanés, prêtre memphite, est toute naturelle et trouve ses analogies dans la littérature mystique ou scientifique des âges plus récents : les dieux Thot, Shaï, Isis y deviennent de même les dieux philosophes Hermés et Agathodémon et la prophétesse Isis. Démocrite, personnage historique, ne pouvait prendre directement des leçons d'un dieu, mais rien ne l'empêchait d'en avoir reçu d'un sage égyptien. Ce sage avait hérité naturellement toute la science du dieu qu'il avait été : on l'appelait le grand Ostanés, comme on disait l'Hermés deux fois ou trois fois grand, et s'il était capable de professer la magie et les opérations chimiques de transmutation qu'elle comporte, c'est que Thot-Ostanou les avait inventées et pratiquées en sa qualité de dieu.

* *Livre des Morts*, edit. Lepsius, Ch. LXIV, pl. 30–32.

† Birch, *Medical Papyrus with the name of Cheops*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 61–64.

‡ Goodwin, *On the name Astennu*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 101–109.

§ Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. XXXVII, l. 13.

Le version égyptienne de la légende de Démocrite et d'Ostanés forme donc un tout parfaitement homogéne, et dont les détails sont confirmés par le témoignage des documents purement indigénes; qu'en est-il maintenant de la version Perse ou Babylonienne? On y remarque tout d'abord un fait curieux. Bien que, d'après la tradition, Démocrite ait voyagé en Chaldée, en Perse, même dans l'Inde, comme en Egypte, ce n'est pas dans le pays d'origine qu'il rencontre son maître de magie, à Babylone ou à Suse, mais celui-ci se déplace pour venir à lui : selon les uns, c'est en Grèce même que l'initiation a lieu, pendant l'expédition de Xerxès, et selon les autres elle s'accomplit en Egypte, mais Ostanés est un mage qui a quitté sa patrie pour enseigner aux bords du Nil. A bien le prendre, il semble que cette version persane ou babylonienne repose sur l'idée préconçue, qu'Ostanés était et ne pouvait être qu'un nom persan. La forme Ostanou—Ostané du dieu Thot n'était point connue hors de l'Egypte, et les Grecs en ignoraient l'existence. Au contraire, quiconque avait lu l'histoire des Achéménides connaissait divers grands personnages du nom d'Ostanés, un fils de Darios Nothos, un satrape de Parétacéne, contemporain d'Alexandre, sans parler de ceux qui modifiaient en Ostanés, le nom Otanés du beau-père de Xerxès.* La donnée d'après laquelle Démocrite aurait eu un Ostanés pour maître entraînait donc, dans l'esprit de ceux qui la répétaient, la notion complémentaire que, le nom d'Ostanés étant un nom perse ou méde, le personnage qui le portait était nécessairement un perse ou un méde, mage ou Chaldéen de son métier.

Il me semble qu'en tenant compte des considérations que je viens d'exposer sommairement, on peut rétablir ainsi l'histoire de la légende d'Ostanés et de son développement :

1°. Démocrite va en Egypte s'instruire aux sciences sacrées pour lesquelles les Egyptiens étaient célèbres : il les apprend dans le temple de Phtah, à Memphis, d'Ostanés, qui est en réalité un dieu, une forme de Thot, mais que la tradition grecque considére comme un homme, l'un des inventeurs de l'alchimie.

2°. Le nom d'Ostanés rappelant surtout aux Grècs des Perses de haut rang, Ostanés devient un Perse par la vertu de son nom, et par suite un mage, un chaldéen, d'où la variante qui lui donne une origine babylonienne ;

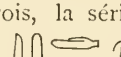
3°. La tradition primitive constatant que Démocrite avait fait

* Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 52, s.v. *Austanes*.

ses études de sciences occultes en Egypte, une partie des écrivains n'hésite pas à la suivre, en se bornant à déclarer qu'Ostanés était un mage, venu dans ce pays, et qui s'y trouvait établi au moment où le philosophe y arriva ;

4°. D'autres, qui avaient été frappés de la contradiction qu'il y avait à donner un Persan comme le prototype de la science égyptienne, préférèrent supposer que Xerxés avait laissé des mages à Abdére, au retour de Salamine, pour instruire le fils de son hôte, qu'Ostanés était un de ces mages, et par suite, que Démocrite avait reçu sa science d'un Ostanés, mais à Abdére, non en Egypte. Il y avait dans leur récit un anachronisme un peu fort, mais une erreur de dates n'était pas pour les gêner ;

5°. Comme pourtant la tradition était constante qui faisait séjourner Démocrite en Egypte, on prêta au philosophe, en place de l'Ostanés dont on le privait, un nouveau précepteur du nom d'Apollobêkhés ou Apollobêx de Coptos.* Est-ce un dieu humanisé comme Ostanés, Horus-l'épervier ainsi que Wiedemann le pense? Est-ce un homme réel ? Le fait est qu'il ne réussit pas à déposséder complément Ostanés.

Tel est, je crois, la série d'opérations inconscientes qui ont transformé le dieu  AOUSDANOU - OSTANOU - OSTANÉ, et le Thot Egyptien, maître fabuleux de Démocrite, en un mage Persan du nom d'Ostanés.

* Pline, *Hist. Nat.*, XXX, II.

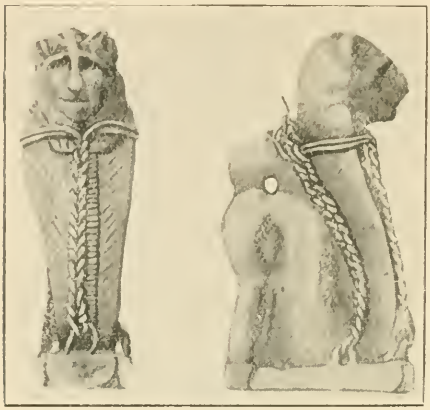
A BRONZE URÆUS OF UNUSUAL FORM.

Figures of the Egyptian Uræus, or Sacred Asp, which we know as the cobra, are common enough in its natural form as a serpent. The specimen shown on the plate is one of the less common forms. It represents a uræus having a man's head, with wig and beard, wearing the pschent or double crown of upper and lower Egypt, on which is placed a uræus. Its base is a rectangular box, probably intended to hold the mummy of a *very small* specimen of the reptile.

The ancient Egyptian name of the uræus was "ara," and its figure was used as a determinative of all the goddesses. Champollion, in his "Panthéon," says that this name "ara," occurs in Coptic under the form of "ouro," signifying a king. The uræus in its natural form is always found on the head-dress of gods and kings. Dr. Birch suggested that the reason for this was that it represented "Neb-Annut, "the goddess of "the hours of Ra." Sir P. Le Page Renouf (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VIII, 111) showed that "unnut," meaning "an hour," is identical with the word meaning a "she-hare," and that, like it, it signified "leaper." He goes on to show that "unnu" is an appellation of the rising sun. Thus, if the uræus represents "unnut," it is an appropriate ornament of the head-dress of a sun-god. The kings perhaps wore it as signifying their divinity.



At other times the uræus is represented with various head-dresses—sometimes with the disk and horns, when it is said to represent the goddess Meha; sometimes wearing the crown of lower Egypt, when it is said to represent Neith. I have a beautifully made uræus of lapis-lazuli, with the head of a lioness, thus associating it with Sechet. Examples of the uræus in its natural form of a serpent are very common in bronze. The expanded "hood" which is characteristic of the reptile, is often ornamented with colours, which are not true enamels, but are sometimes a sort of mosaic of glass, and sometimes of coloured pastes. It is also found made of a variety of other materials, as silver, gold, and faience. The uræus here depicted is probably meant to signify the kingly power of the royal person in whose tomb it was placed, rather than association with any deity.



(TWICE REAL HEIGHT.)

A good deal of information concerning the uræus—of which I have availed myself—will be found in Mr. Hilton Price's "Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities," and in Dr. Budge's book, "The Mummy."

The dimensions of my specimen are—

Length of the extended body of the reptile, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Height of erect portion, including crown, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

W. L. NASH, F.S.A.

NOTE ON THE COPTIC SPELL.

6, Gray's Inn Square,
5th March, 1898.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

I am much obliged to Mr. Crum for the information and suggestions given by him in the *Proceedings* for March. Although I cannot accept all his views upon the papyrus, they are all valuable, and I am relieved to find that Dr. Wessely's transcription is not so faulty as the note in the Exploration Fund's Report had led me to fear. To take the points in their order:—

L. 1233. I gratefully accept the correction of ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ for ⲡⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ. As will be seen from the translation, I had already assumed the existence of the missing ⲓ.

Ll. 1234–5. I am also quite willing to substitute the Boheiric ⲥ for the Sahidic ϩ in the words ⲥⲁϩⲣⲏ and ⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ. In the transcription of the first-named word as *σαρηϊ*, the scribe has omitted the aspirate altogether, and I therefore thought it better to use the weak aspirate *hori* rather than the stronger *kei*. The reading of both ⲛ̅ *ισασφε* and ⲛ̅ *ισασφι* as ⲛⲛⲓⲩⲁⲩⲩⲓ is tempting, but I doubt whether there is any precedent for splitting up the Sahidic ⲛ̅ (*i.e.* ⲉⲛ) into ⲛⲛ. In any case, "the seven" cannot refer to the olive-branches as suggested by Mr. Crum in the *Report*, for in no sense can it be said that Jesus is "below" or "within" them. If Mr. Crum's reading be adopted, "the seven" will probably refer to the seven heavens of the *Book of Enoch* and the *Ascensio Isaiae*, some word like ϥⲛⲟⲩⲓ (for ⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉ is a feminine form) being understood. The reading of *ισασφε* as a divine name seems to me to do less violence to the original, but neither reading is free from difficulty, and I should like further examples of names constructed on the principle mentioned in my original paper before asserting that my guess is better than Mr. Crum's.

L. 1235. I do not think that *ενα* can be intended for ⲉⲓⲛⲓ or ⲁⲛⲓ, "bring." The sentence thus read has no meaning, and when ⲉⲓⲛⲓ is used in the early part of the papyrus it has always ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ, "hither," to support it.

Ll. 1236–7. If I understand Mr. Crum aright, he would read these lines as ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲙ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲥⲁϧⲟⲗ ⲁⲡⲟ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉⲓⲛⲁ K.T.λ. "May your power remain away from such an one," which seems more like an ill-wish than a formula of exorcism. The change of the *β* of ⲥⲱϧⲓⲥ into ⲡ is also a little forced. I still prefer the former reading.

L. 1239. In reading *ϵθϊωθϕ* as ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲧϥ, Mr. Crum treats the first *θ* as ⲧϩ, to which it corresponds in Sahidic, but the second as the equivalent of ⲧ merely, which it is in Boheiric. This is at first sight inconsistent, but otherwise I have no objection to reading, "who is upon him," instead of "Ethiopian." On the whole, I do not now think the latter reading can be maintained.

Generally, therefore, the difference between Mr. Crum and myself is that while he uses Boheiric forms by preference, I have tried to keep as much to the Sahidic dialect as possible. This I did because of the frequent occurrence in the text of the word ⲛ̅, which is exclusively Sahidic, as is also the ⲓ̈ (*v.* Revillout, *Mélanges d'archeol. egypt.*, t. III, note on p. 19). But it must be noticed that the scribe never keeps to one dialect for long, but uses forms like the Boheiric ⲫⲡⲟⲧⲟⲓ and the Sahidic ⲡⲡⲟⲧⲧⲉ in the same sentence and even (accepting Mr. Crum's last suggestion) in the same word. This is explained by M. Revillout (*Mél. cit.*) as due to the fact that the Coptic language was then in a state of flux and had not yet crystallized into the later forms known to grammarians. But this is contrary to what we know of dialectal changes, and we do not, for instance, meet Attic and Æolic forms in the same text until the language has become utterly corrupt. Dr. Erman, on the other hand, supposes (*A.Z.*, 1883, p. 92) that the errors are to be attributed to the text being a copy at second or third hand from the demotic original. Yet the scribe has not made many mistakes in the Greek part of the text, and it is not therefore easy to see why he should have suddenly become careless in one part of his task more than in another. I would therefore ask Mr. Crum and other

Coptic scholars to consider whether this jumbling together of dialects may not be explained in a third way, to wit, that the scribe was not copying another document at all, but was writing as best he could, in Greek letters, formulas which he had been accustomed to repeat from memory, but of the meaning of which he was ignorant. If this be thought a merely fanciful explanation, I would point out that this is the course which has been followed by conjurors in all ages. Thus, in a gnostic papyrus lately translated by M. Amélineau, God is invoked "par tes noms glorieux Adônai, Eloi, Elemasabaktani," the phrase which the scribe takes for a name of God being, of course, the last of the Words from the Cross; while in a small *Anatomie of Legerdemain*, now in my possession, and first published in 1635, the author recommends his readers, when performing sleight-of-hand tricks, to use in their *boniment* or "patter" such words as "hocus pocus" (*hoc est corpus*), "hiccius doctius" (*hic est doctus*), "vade couragious" (*vade cor ejus*?), "revoca stivoca" (*revocasti voces*?), and many, others, without, apparently, the least idea that he is corrupting the words of some Latin ritual.

Very faithfully yours,

F. LEGGE.

LETTER FROM HAMMURABI.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,—

As an appendix to a number of very archaic tablets from Telloh, M. Thureau Dangin publishes in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* for 1897, Vol. IV, page 85, a letter from Hammurabi (or Hammura paltu) to Sinidina, King of Larsa (Ellasar), announcing the dispatch of 360 workmen, half of them to be employed at Larsa and half at Laḫab.

This text is of importance to Biblical Archæology, because it is in another dispatch from the same monarch, also to Sinidina, his vassal, that we have so distinct a memorial of King Chedorlaomer, a reference confirming the incidental allusion to Chedorlaomer, together with Eriaku (or Arioch) and Tukdal (or Tidal), discovered by Mr. Pinches in tablets of a later date.

The first letter of Hammurabi is given thus by Father Scheil in the *Revue Biblique* for 1896, page 601 :—

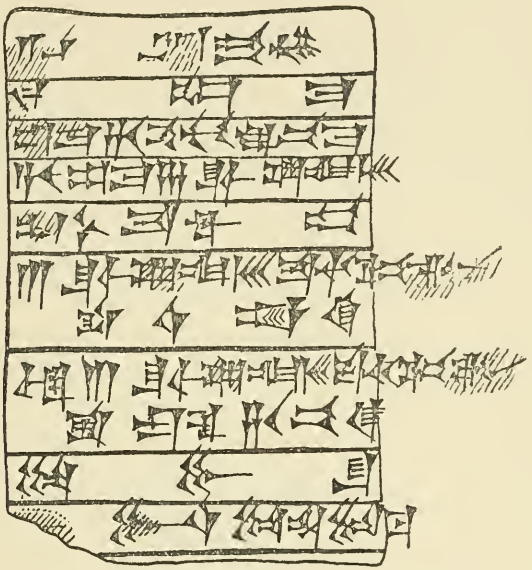
A-na Sin-i-din-nam.
Ki-bê-ma
Um-ma Kha-am-mu-ra-bi-ma
i-la-a-tim cha E-m-ut-ba-lim
id li-ti-ka.
Úm-(um) cha Ku-dur-la-ukh-ga-mar.
u-cha-al-la-ma-ak-qu
i-nu-ma, izza ilu ba-ni-iq-qu
i-na tsab-im cha ga-ti-ka
tsab-am la-pu-ut-ma
i-la-a-tim
a-na chu-ub-ti-chi-na
li-cha-al-li-mu.

Which he renders :—

"A Sin idinnam soit dit de Hammurabi: Les déeses du pays d'Emutbalim, je te les ai donneés comme prix de ta vaillance, au jour de la défaite de Kodorlahomor. Puisque le dieu ton Créateur s'en offense, avec les troupes qui sont sous ta main, detruis leur gens et que les déesses restent sauves dans leur sanctuaire."

Father Scheil adds in a note that this text proves that the prince of Emutbal (or Western Elam), indicated as defeated, together with Rimsin (Eriaku), by Hammurabi, in contract tablets from Tell Sifr and Larsa, was Kodorlahomor.

The annexed text is a copy of the tablet as given by M. Dangin in plate 31, No. 84 of the *Revue d'Assyriologie* :—



Mr. Ball has very kindly sent me the following :—

Transcription.

a-na Sin-i-din-nam
qi - be - ma
um-ma Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ma
a-be um-ma VI šu-ši SAG-IL-MEŠ
al-kud-da-aq-qu
III šu-ši SAG-IL-MEŠ it-it e-bi-zu(su)-tim ša UTU-UNU-KI
u III šu-ši SAG-IL-MEŠ it-ti e-bi-zu(su)-tim ša maḫâz
La-ḫa-bi KI
li - bu - šu
[a] - bu-tu li-[ša ?]-al(?)-li(m)-ma

TRANSLATION.

Unto Sin-idinna say thus: I Hammurabi declared thus: I have chosen (or collected) for thee 360 *burden-bearers;* 180 *burden-bearers with workmen of Larsa, and* 180 *burden-bearers with workmen of Lahab. May they work! may (thy) will be accomplished!*

NOTES.

a-be = *abbi*, I announced (or ordered?).

al-kud = *alkud*, from לכד, 'to take,' 'choose' (*cf.* Josh. vii, 14); or = *alqut*, from לקת (Assyr.) 'to collect.' SAG-IL-MEŠ = *zâbilûti*, 'carriers,' 'bearers.' e-bi-zu-tim = *êpišûti* apparently.

Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH OFFORD.

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

To H. RYLANDS, *Secretary.*

February 2nd, 1898.

DEAR SIR,

Seeing that in Ancient History of whatever kind nothing can be thoroughly well done, without a clear understanding of the succession of time, and that at present no such clear view exists as regards the only documents worthy of consideration in Biblical Archæology.

Seeing that Rome was, without doubt, founded in 753 B.C., and that the Olympiad of Corœbus occurred 23 years previously, in 776 B.C. and 3182 A.M. That Rome was also founded 431 years after the termination of the siege of Troy, in 1184 B.C., and that both of these computations when worked out give the same date for the Nativity, viz., 3958 A.M. That these dates are all known to, and acknowledged by, every classical scholar as being correct, and that all modern discovery points to the same conclusion; can it any longer be denied that the Nativity did occur in the 29th year of Augustus Octavianus Cæsar, A.U.C. 753, A.M. 3958, and that this latter gives us, in the same ciphers, the date B.C. of the Creation of Man?

If there were no other evidence available than this, it would be an act of common prudence to recognise and publish this acknowledgment; but seeing that it is plainly shown by the Holy Scriptures, and that behind them again there exists a mass of other classical and monumental proof available, which must ere long be put before the Christian world, it seems that it would be the height of unwisdom not to take the lead in confessing the shortcomings of Biblical chronology, before the storm of criticism shall arise.

To three, nine, five and eight
Add the current A.D. date.
The sum of these at once does state
The years since God did man create.

3958 A.M. of A.D.
1898 A.D.

5856 Present A.M.

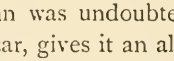
Yours truly,

J. H. SELWYN.

A HYMN OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

By S. A. STRONG.

With the exception of Aššurbanipal, who seems to have formed the centre, if not the source, of a whole range of religious literature, few Assyrian or Babylonian monarchs cultivated the heavenly muse otherwise than anonymously. The fact, therefore, that the following hymn was undoubtedly either composed or inspired by Nebuchadnezzar, gives it an almost unique value and interest.

The substance contains no elements that are new: both in tone and in terms it closely resembles the great inscription of the India Office. The peculiarity lies in the form. The text is an acrostic consisting of four stanzas of ten lines each, the ends of which when read vertically make up the group  , that is to say *Nebo*, the eponymous patron of the royal singer Nebuchadnezzar. It is composed in metre, as would appear to the eye from the division-marks between the feet in the body of the lines, even if the structure of the latter were less obvious to the ear. The elements that form the measure are combined and arranged more irregularly than in the texts of this character that we have examined hitherto (*P.S.B.A.*, XVII, 4, pp. 131–151); but the following examples show most clearly what is perhaps the type of metrical construction:—

purussû la šanan	*manzaza ilâni rabûti*	*ukin kirib Babîlu*
puḳḳudu êšrieti	*uddušu maḫazi*	*bašû ḳatuššu*
bunannî amêlûtu	*šiknatum napištum*	*iptiḳ nabnitu*
umalla ḳatuššu	*ṣalmatum ḳaḳadu*	*ana riêussu*

and if these be compared with such lines as, for example (*l.c.*, p. 132)—

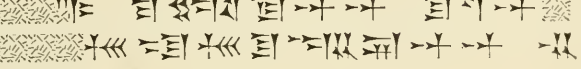
arba' kibrâti	*littaṭṭala zimêšu*
kirušu â ibbaši	*likšuda niṣmatsu*

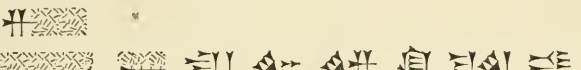
it will be seen that in metrical value they stand to the latter in the ratio of 3 to 2. In other words, a common metrical element is employed in one case in groups of three, and in the other in groups of two.

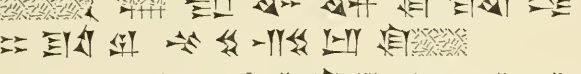
The text is written on both sides of a clay tablet numbered 82-7-4, 42 in the British Museum.

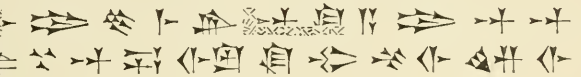
OBVERSE.

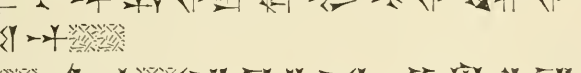
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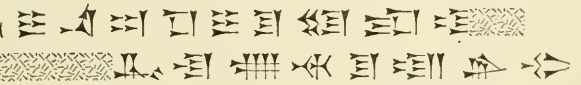
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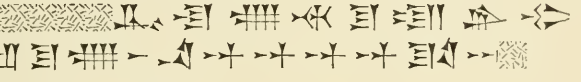
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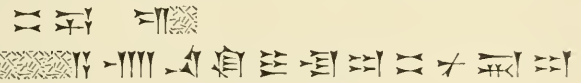
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11 [illegible]

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14 [illegible]

15 [illegible]

16 [illegible]

17 [illegible]

18 [illegible]

19 [illegible]

20 [illegible]

(ilu) . . . . . ú | ma-li-ku ilâni | šú-ut ilu [šamî irṣitim]
(ilu) . . . . . mêš abî-šú | bêl ilâni | bêl gi-im-[ri]
(ilu) [ra]-bu-ú ra-'-im ki-it-tum ù mi-šá-ru | mu-šê-zi-ib ki-[dinnu
(ilu) [LUGAL] DIM. MÊ. IR AN. KI. A šar ilâni ša kiš-šat šami-î ù irṣi-tim | mu-ši-im ši-ma-a-ta an
ilu [ša êliš i]-na šami-[î šu]-ur-ba-a-ta i-lu-ut-su šap-liš i-na ap-si-i | šú-tu-ra-at [nabnissu]
(ilu) . . . . . [ušapri]-ik la-ú-ti-šú ṣi-ir-tim ú-šab-šú-ú aš-na-an ilâni ilu šá . . . . . .
nin-da-bi-e si (?)-
. . . . . A-nun-na-ki i-la-ab-bi-nu-uš ap-pi | ú-šá-ar-bu-ú [šarrussu]
. . . . . [ša]-ḳu-ú a-ma-at-su | i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru ḳi-[bitsu
. . . . . gu-gal-lum šami-î [irṣi]-tim mu-šá-aš-ki-in | ḫigal-la šá-ka . . . . .
[ilu ša ina] šamî irṣitim ú-šá-til bê-lu-ut-su | i-na-a-du [ilutsu]

[Nabû ?] bêl bêlî birit uzni (ŠI. GAL. la) ilâni | i-li-it-tum [(ilu) Êrûa ?]
nam]-ru nu-ur (ilu) I-gi-gi ù (ilu) A-nun-na-ki | bu-ku-ur [Marduk]
. . . . . nimêḳu (ŠI. AZAG) | mu-um-mu ba-an | bi-nu-tu [ilâni ?]
. . . . . iz-zu ta-mi-iḫ ki-ip-pa-tum bu-ru-mu ê[l-lu-tu]
. . . . . [dâin] di-i-ni mu-a-ab-bi-it | na-ga-ab li-im-[nûti]
. . . . . ma-al-ku a-šá-ri-du | bêl ilâni . . . . .
. . . . . ù kussû šarru-ú-tu | a-na šarri pa-[li-iḫ ilûtišu ?]
. . . . . | ki-it-tum ù mi-šá-ru | a-na mu-uš-tê-'-ú [balaṭam]
. . . . . | i-na ki-ri-ib šami-î êl-lu-ú-tu i-nam-di-in mê-ê-[lammê
. . . . . ta-a | ê-li irṣi-tim ra-pa-aš-tum | ú-šá-aš-ki-in taš-[mê]

[burumu] êl-lu-ú-tu | šá ú-ṣa-al-li-lu | ri-it-tu-uš-[šu
[puru]-us-su-ú la šá-na-an | ma-an-za-za ilâni rabûti | ú-ki-in ki-ri-ib Ba-[bîlu]
[pu-uḳ]-ḳu-du êš-ri-e-ti | ud-du-šú ma-ḫa-zi | ba-šú-ú ḳa-tu-uš-[šu
[bu]-na-an-ni-î amêlûtu | ši-ik-na-tum na-pi-iš-tum | ip-ti-iḳ na-ab-ni-[tu]
bu-ú-lum šá-ak-ka-an | ù nam-maš-šú-ú | ú-šá-ar-ši ri-[êum
bu-ul-ṭu ta-mi-iḫ | ri-it-tu-uš-šú rab-ba-a-ta bêl ba-la-ṭa-an
pu-lu-uḫ-tum i-lu-ú-ti-šú ṣi-ir-tum | šú-ḫu-zu ilâni ù a-[mêlûti] . . . .
pu-uḫ-ru ilâni šú-ut šamî irṣitim | ú-ḳa-mu-ú ri-ês-su | pa-al-ḫi-iš iz-zi-iz-zu ka-[amsu

bu na-an-ni šarri | ê-li tê-ni-šê-ê-tum | ša-lum-ma-tum uš-ma-al-[li
pu-ul-ḫa-a-ta | ú-šá-al-bi-iš-su | mê-lam-mi nam-ri-ir-[ru ušdaššâšu ?]

ú-šá-ti-ir bê-lu-ut-su | ê-li ku-ul-la-tum | ba-'-ú-la-a-[at arba'i]
ú-šá-ak-ni-iš | šê-pu-uš-šú | nišî ù ma-a-ti-ta-[an]
ú-ma-al-la ḳa-tu-uš-šú | ṣa-al-ma-tum ḳa-ḳa-du | a-na ri-ê-ú-u[s-su]
ú Marduk bêlu rabu-ú | ra-'-i-mu | šá-ar-ru-ú-[us-su]
ú-bu-lam-ma lib-ba-šú za-na-a-nu Ê-sag-ila Ê-zi-da ù ú-tê-id-du-šú Ba-bi-i-lu (ki) âlu na-ra-[amšu
ú-šá-ab-ši a-na ma-li-ku-ú-tu Nabû-kudurru-uṣur mu-ṭi-ib lib-bi-šú ru-bu-ú pa-li-iḫ-šú bi-nu-tú ḳa-ti-[šu]
[? ú ip]-še-ê-tu-šú ki-na-a-ta ip-pa-li-is-ma a-na šarru-ú-tu kiš-šat nišî ê-pi-ê-šú it-ta-bi zi-ki-[iršu]
[ušat]-mi-iḫ ri-it-tu-uš-šú ḫaṭṭu i-šá-ar-tum | mu-rap-pi-ša-at ma-a-[tu]
ušatbâ ?] i-na i-di-šú kakkî da-an-nu-tu ka-mu-ú | na-ki-ri-šú
[ušat]-li-im-šú is-su ilu la pa-du-ú ka-ši-du a-a-bi ù za-ma-a-nu

TRANSLATION.

1. . . . . (*Nebo*) *king of the gods of heaven and earth,*
. . . . . *his fathers, lord of the gods, lord of the universe,*
the great god, loving truth and right, the saviour of him who waits upon him,
god, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, king of the gods of all that is in heaven and earth, who makes fast the bonds of fate,
5. *whose godhead on high in heaven is great, below in the deep mighty are his works,*
. . . . . *he made his exalted might to prevail, he created the bread of the gods* . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . *the Anunnaki fall down before him, who makes great his royalty,*
. . . . . *his command sounds aloud, he abides by his decree,*
10. . . . . *the governor of heaven and earth, who sends plenty,*
the god who over heaven and earth extends his lordship, exalts his godhead!

Nebo, lord of lords, wisdom of the gods, offspring of Êrûa,
the shining one, light of the Igigi and the Anunnaki, firstborn of Marduk,
. . . . . *the wisdom of Mummu, the begetter of the sons of god,*
. . . . . *whose anger burns like fire, who holds the shining stars in their courses,*
. . . . . *who judges right, who brings to nought the whole company of the wicked,*
. . . . . *the chief, the most principal, lord of the gods . . . .*
. . . . . *and the throne of royalty to the king who feared his godhead,*
. . . . . *truth and right to him who seeks life,*
. . . . . *in the midst of the bright heavens he sets great lights,*
. . . . . *over the broad earth he has established prosperity.*

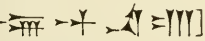
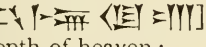
The shining signs which he fixed as his seal,
judgments without equal, a place of abode for the great gods, he founded in Babylon,
the establishment of the sanctuaries, the renewal of the city, are in his hand,
the children of men, living creatures, he formed as his handiwork,
the beasts of the field, four-footed and creeping things, he bestowed upon the ruler,
the life of him who holds his great seal, the lord of life,
the fear of his exalted godhead is appointed to gods and men . . . .
the whole company of the gods of heaven and earth bend their heads, in fear they stand bowing low,
the offspring of the king for mankind he made to be a glory and a terror,
with fear he clothed him, with shining light he covered him.

He made his lordship greater than before over all the four quarters of the world,
he subdued under his feet peoples and lands,
he filled his hand with mankind for his chieftaincy,
and Marduk, the great lord, who loved his royalty,
turned his heart to the preserving of Êsagila (and) Êzida, and the renewal of Babylon, the city that he loved,

he brought to the kingship Nebuchadnezzar, rejoicing his heart,
the prince who feared him, the work of his hand,
his works holy and just he looked upon, and to the making of
the kingship over all peoples he called him by his name,
he gave into his hand a right sceptre, broadening the lands,
he caused mighty weapons to be wielded in his hand, who over-
powers his enemies,
10. *he bestowed protection upon him, the god who forgives not, who*
vanquishes the foes and the evil-doers.

NOTES.

4. The same phrase, viz., *an lugal dim-mê-ir an-ki-a*, occurs in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, II, 58. Compare also the following fragment (W.A.I. IV, 28, 2) :—

bê-lum ina a-ga-gi-šu	*ša-mu-ú i-ta-na-ar-ra-ru-šú*
Rammân ina ê-zi-zi-šu	*ir-ṣi-tum i-na-as-su*
ša-du-ú ra-bu-tu	*su-uḫ-ḫu-pu-šu*
a-na a-ga-gi-šu	*a-na ê-zi-zi-šu*
a-na šá-gi-mi-šu	*a-na ra-mi-mi-šu*
ilâni ša ša-mê-ê	*a-na šam-ê i-tê-lu-u*
ilâni ša ir-ṣi-tim	*a-na ir-ṣi-tim i-tê-ir-bu*
Šamaš ina i-šid šam-ê	*i-tê-ru-ub*
Sin ina ê-lat šam-ê	*ir-ta-bi*
The lord in his anger :	the heavens quake before him :
Rammân in his fury :	the earth trembles :
The great mountains :	melt before him :
For his anger :	for his fury :
For his roaring :	for his thunder :
The gods of heaven :	to heaven ascend :
[]	
The gods of earth :	to earth retire :
[]	
In the depth of heaven :	the Sun withdraws :
In heaven's midheight :	the Moon shines large.

5. For the restoration *nabnissu*, *cf.* W.A.I. II, 66–1–2, *šuturat nabnisa*.

6. *lauti*, an abstract from the root לאה, 'to be strong.'

9. As regards the restoration *šaḳû amatsu*, *cf.* such phrases as *Sin šaḳû namriri* (Shalm., Ob. 6).

10. *Cf.* Neb., IV, 35, *ana Rammâni mušaškin ḫegalli ina mâtiia.*

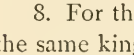
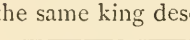
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1. *Cf.* the cylinder of Antiochus, II, 4, *Nabû apil Ésagila bukur Marduk ristû ilidti Érûa.*

3. *Mummu* is equivalent to *apsû* (Del., *Handw.*, p. 415), and *apsû* is explained by *bît nimêḳi* (W.A.I. IV, 52, 34 *b*). On the other hand Nebo is called *bânû piristi* (W.A.I. V, 43, 32 *c*, *d*), and we find the similar phrase *nâṣir piristi* applied in the cylinder of Nabonidus (W.A.I. V, 65, 33) to the wise (*ênḳûtu*) who occupy the *bît mummu*.

8. For the restoration *cf.* the 'Grotefend-Cylinder,' where (I, 4) the same king describes himself as *muštê'um balaṭam.*

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1. The physical basis of the meaning of *burumu* discloses itself very clearly in this line. The meaning assigned to *rittu* is suggested by the fact that  occurs (W.A.I. II, 1, 120) as an equivalent of  . Now with the determinative  has elsewhere frequently the value of *kunukku*, 'seal,' and, as for *kišib*, in the fourth canto of the Creation Epic Marduk seals the tablets of fate *ina kišibbi*, 'with his seal' (IV, 122).

5. *šakkan* occurs in close connection with  *bulum*, in W.A.I. V, 42, 50.

8. *uḳamû* seems to be derived from a root seen in the Arab. قمأ, 'he was or became little'; أقمأ, 'he rendered him little and despicable.'

10. Almost the identical phrase occurs in the third tablet of the Creation series, line 28: *pulḫâti ušalbišma mêlammê ušdaššâ.*

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8. The closely parallel expression in Neb., I, 45, viz., *ḫaṭṭu išarti ušatmiḫ gatûa*, 'a right sceptre he gave into my hand,' establishes the meaning of *rittu*—in the present case at any rate—beyond a doubt; nor is it impossible that we have here the true pronunciation of the word which in similar passages is usually transliterated *laḳ-tu.*

NOTES D'ASSYRIOLOGIE.

II.

Alfred Boissier.

§ 1. Il est un passage de la grande inscription d'Assourbanipal qui ne paraît pas avoir été traduit jusqu'ici d'une manière satisfaisante.

V. R. 9, l. 105. Il s'agit du supplice infligé par le monarque assyrien au roi des Arabes Wâteh (v. pour ce nom le mémoire de Haupt, *Hebraica*, Vol. I, p. 222).

L. 105. ina ^{iš} ḫu-ut-ni-e ma-še-ri ṣi-bit qâtê-ia.
L. 106. ^{šêr} me-ṣi-šu ap-lu-uš.
L. 107. ina la-aḫ-ši-šu at-ta-di ṣir-ri-tú.
L. 108. ul-li kalbi ad-di-šu-ma.

ce qui signifie—

L. 105. *avec le couteau dont je me sers pour couper la viande*
L. 106. *je fis un trou dans sa mâchoire* (*de Wâteh*)
L. 107. *je passai un anneau dans sa lèvre supérieure*
L. 108. *j'attachai* (*à cet anneau*) *une chaîne, avec laquelle on conduit les chiens en laisse.*

L'assyrien "ḫutnu," *cf.* Del., *H. W.*, p. 296, désigne un instrument tranchant ; *cf.* l'arabe خِتَان ; c'est le couteau qui sert à pratiquer la circoncision. L'assyrien "ḫatânu" a le sens de *protéger*, l'arabe خَتَنَ = *circoncire*. (Lane's *Lexicon*, p. 703.)—L'assyrien meṣu = mâchoire, n'est autre que مَضَغَ d'où مَضْغَة = mastication et مَضَاغَة = mâchoires. *Cf.* Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, p. 598. L'assyrien ṣirritu signifie probablement : anneau. Le sens indiqué convient parfaitement ici. Si nous passons maintenant aux monuments figurés, nous y trouvons la confirmation de la traduction

proposée par nous. En effet sur la stèle d'Assarhaddon trouvée à Sendjirli nous voyons deux princes captifs aux pieds du grand roi d'Assyrie.—Ils sont tenus en laisse comme des chiens; à leur lèvre supérieure on distingue—mal il est vrai—un anneau auquel est attachée la chaîne. Il se pourrait fort bien que la corde fut fixée à la lèvre par un simple noeud. Le sens donné à ṣirritú ne serait pas alors celui de "anneau." Mais cela n'infirmerait en rien la signification générale de ce passage où une fois de plus nous voyons les raffinements de cruauté qu'Assourbanipal se complaît à nous décrire.

§ 2. V. R. 10, l. 95. Assourbanipal après avoir fait la conquête de l'Elam et anéanti la puissance des rois Arabes, ordonne que les princes captifs travaillent comme de simples ouvriers à la construction du palais de Ridûti; il ajoute, l. 95:—

ina elili ningûti ubbâlu ûmšun.

On traduit généralement, *cf.* K. B. II, p. 235: Sie brachten unter Gesang und Spiel ihre Tage hin; ce qui est impossible. Assourbanipal veut dire au contraire, "qu'ils passèrent le reste de leur vie à gémir et à soupirer." On sait que le *elêlu* est une complainte, *cf.* Delitzsch, *H. W.*, p. 73; quant à *ningûtu*, il a évidemment ici un sens analogue.

§ 3. L'assyrien ḫaṣâru (voir Delitzsch, *H. W.*, p. 288) signifie probablement: *claie pour sécher les dattes, natte.* Ultu ḫaṣâri adi eli nâri = depuis le lieu où sèchent les dattes jusqu'au canal. Ḫaṣâru n'est autre que حصير, qui a le sens que nous venons d'indiquer.

§ 4. Quelle est la fonction du râb zikâti? (*M.A.P.*, p. 129). Autrement dit que signifie le mot zikâti que nous rencontrons en assyrien au pluriel seulement? Je crois qu'un passage de Ibn Batoutah nous en fournit l'explication. Il est curieux et vaut la peine d'être reproduit ici (*cf.* Ibn Batoutah, texte et traduction par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, tome premier, p. 112). Le célèbre voyageur arabe venant d'Egypte et se rendant en Palestine passe par la ville de Kathiah. "C'est là," dit-il, "qu'on perçoit les droits sur les négociants, qu'on visite leurs marchandises et qu'on examine très attentivement ce qu'ils ont avec eux. C'est là que sont les bureaux des douanes, les receveurs, les écrivains et les notaires. Son revenu est de mille dinârs par jour. Personne ne dépasse cette station pour aller en Syrie, si ce n'est avec un passe-port délivré au

Caire, et nul ne pénètre en Egypte par ce point, sans un passe-port de Syrie ; et cela par sollicitude pour les habitants et par crainte des espions de l'Irâk. Cette route est confiée aux Arabes, qui ont été spécialement préposés à sa garde. Lorsque la nuit arrive, ils passent leur main sur le sable, de manière qu'il n'y reste aucune trace ; et le lendemain matin l'émir vient et examine le sable. S'il y trouve une trace, il exige des Arabes qu'ils lui représentent celui qui l'a faite. Ils se mettent tout de suite à sa recherche et il ne leur échappe pas. Alors il l'amènent devant l'émir, qui le châtie à son gré." L'arabe جَبَايَة employé ici signifie droit d'entrée sur les marchandises (*cf.* Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, p. 597). Il correspond à l'assyrien zikâti, et le râb zikâti est par conséquent le fonctionnaire qui perçoit les droits d'entrée sur les marchandises.

§ 5. Dans les documents omineux, parmi les diverses calamités qui pouvaient affliger les régions d'Assyrie, se trouve fréquemment mentionnée l'apparition des lions. Autrefois ces fauves pullulaient dans les marais de la Chaldée, de l'Elam, de l'Assyrie et y causaient à certains moments des ravages sans nombre. Aussi lorsqu'une invasion de lions était signalée, les habitants en proie à une frayeur immense fuyaient, laissant leurs troupeaux à la merci des bêtes féroces. Les historiens du règne d'Assourbanipal nous ont conservé le récit d'une de ces invasions de lions ; sans doute il s'y trouve de l'exagération, mais il faut bien qu'il y ait une part de vérité dans leurs descriptions imagées, destinées à rehausser encore le prestige d'Assourbanipal. Nous devons la publication du passage suivant à S. A. Smith (voir : Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals, Vol. II, K. 2867).

Verso.

L. 24. ul-tu ina kussi abi ba-ni-ia ú-ši-bu Rammân zunni-šu ú-maš-ši-ra E-a ú-pat-ti naqbê.

L. 25. kišâti danniš iš-mu-ḫa qanâti ṣu-si-e uš-te-li-bu la i-šu-u ni-ri-bu . . . . .

L. 26. ta-lit-ti nêšê qi-rib-ši-in i-šir-ma ina la-a me-ni ig-dam-ma-ru (?) . . . . .

L. 27. ina ú-kul-ti alpê si-e-ni u a-me-lu-ti in-na-ad-ru-ma e-zi-zu . . . . . .

L. 28. bu-ul ṣêri ka-a-a-an ú-šam-qa-tu i-tab-ba-ku pagrê a-me-lu-ti ib . . . . . .

L. 29. ki-i tap-di-e Gir-ra tap-qid ša-lam-tu ^{amêlu} mitûtê alpê u . . . . . .
L. 30. i-bak-ku-ú ^{amêlu} rê'ê ^{amêlu} na-qi-di ša la-ab-bi iq . . .
L. 31. i-ir-ap-pi-du da-ad-me ur-ru u mu-šu . . . . . .
L. 32. ip-šit nêšê ša-a-tu-nu ik-bu-ul . . . . . .

L. 24. *Lors de mon avènement au trône que j'occupais après mon père, le dieu Rammân envoya la pluie, Ea fit jaillir les sources.*
L. 25. *Les forêts se couvrirent d'une épaisse verdure et les roseaux, les plantes des marais étaient si touffus qu'on ne pouvait se frayer un passage au travers.*
L. 26. *les lions au milieu d'eux prospéraient, sans nombre ils . . . .*
L. 27. *ils rugissaient affamés à la vue des bestiaux, des moutons et des hommes*
L. 28. *ils massacrent le bétail des champs, ils broient les cadavres humains.*
L. 29 *comme s'il était abandonné à la peste dévastatrice le cadavre des hommes morts, des bestiaux . . . . . .*
L. 30. *les bergers, les pâtres sanglotent puisque les lions . . . . . .*
L. 31. *ils se blottissent dans leurs cabanes jour et nuit . . . . . .*
L. 32. *les ravages de ces lions . . . . . .*

La suite du texte nous apprend qu'Assourbanipal aussi intrépide à la chasse qu'au combat, se lança dans les épais fourrés, organisa des battues et mit fin aux déprédations des lions. "L. 34, qinnâtišunu uparrir, j'anéantissais leurs familles." Il n'y a que peu de choses à ajouter au point de vue philologique ; remarquons seulement qu' à partir de la ligne 28 les verbes sont au présent. Les auteurs pour donner plus de vie et de couleur à leurs récits emploient de préférence le présent au passé (*cf.* le récit du déluge, par exemple). L. 27. L'assyrien ukultu se trouve II R 29, l. 40, C.D. comme synonyme de karurtu ; ukul = ḫušaḫḫu. De même que bubûtu signifie à la fois nourriture et manque de nourriture, famine, ukultu signifie, (1) nourriture, (2) famine. Ici il a le sens de "désir de manger," "besoin de nourriture." Pour le sens de bubûtu, *cf.* Haupt, "über einen Dialekt der Sumerischen Sprache," p. 517.

A DICTIONARY OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.

An Appeal to Custodians and Owners of Inscriptions and Papyri.

The following circular and appeal has been transmitted by Professor Erman, of Berlin. For the translation, we are indebted to the kindness of Miss Renouf.

His Majesty the Emperor having been graciously pleased to grant, by rescript dated 10th May, 1897, funds for the publication of a *Dictionary of the Egyptian Language*, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen, the Royal Society of Sciences at Leipzig, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, have appointed a Committee, consisting of the undersigned, for the conduct of this work.

It is intended that the *Dictionary of the Egyptian Language* shall comprise all words preserved in texts written in hieroglyphics (including hieratic); references to Demotic and Coptic texts will be introduced only when essential to the elucidation of words found in the hieroglyphics.

The collection of material will proceed according to the method elaborated in compiling the "Thesaurus Linguae Latinae," this arrangement affording the readiest means of bringing together all the possible references for every word. Obviously, in the final revision, only the most important of those references will be quoted. About eleven years is the estimate for the duration of the work down to the beginning of the printing.

It is essential to the carrying out of this great undertaking that those engaged upon it should work from the existing texts in their most complete and accurate form; they should also be able to utilise such inscriptions and papyri as are still unpublished, and to revise the published texts when necessary.

All this can be attained only if the necessary support is forthcoming from outside the circle of our fellow-labourers.

Recognizing the necessity for this support, the International Congress of Orientalists, at their recent meeting in Paris, formally expressed the desire—

"Que le service des Antiquités d'Égypte, les Administrations de Musées et les Sociétés savantes facilitent l'exécution de cette grande entreprise, et communiquent aux savants chargés de ce travail les documents dont ils auront besoin."

Conformably to this resolution, the undersigned Committee herewith earnestly and with all deference request the various scientific societies and corporations, the Administration of Antiquities in Egypt, trustees of museums, owners of private collections, and all fellow-specialists, to communicate copies, squeezes, and photographs of texts newly-discovered or otherwise unknown, and to facilitate the revision of those already edited. The Committee distinctly undertake for their own part and in the name of all their collaborators, to regard such communications as confidential, and neither to publish them nor make use of them except for the Dictionary. On the other hand, during the progress of the work they will gladly give information to fellow-specialists as to the occurrence of particular words.

It is requested that all communications and enquiries referring to the Dictionary be addressed to Professor Ad. Erman (Berlin, C. Lustgarten, Königl. Museen), whose name is among the undersigned.

BERLIN, *December*, 1897.

The Academic Committee for the publication of the *Dictionary of the Egyptian Language*,

EBERS. PIETSCHMANN.
ERMAN. STEINDORFF.

Professor Erman has added by request the following explanation as to the method of compilation pursued for this colossa work:—

"By the system adopted every text is divided into portions consisting of 20–30 words, and copied once with autographic ink. Each of the portions is then printed on separate slips of paper, as many in number as the words contained in it. On each of the 20–30 slips thus obtained one of the words is underlined with red ink, and the slip is then filed in the collecting cases as reference for the word in question.

"The labour of writing for lexicographical work is thus reduced to about the 20th part of what is necessary on any other plan, and a more absolute completeness of material is ensured than has been attained hitherto by any other method."

W. H. R.

According to Rule XXXIX, no meeting will be held in April.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 3rd May, 1898, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

DR. PAUL RUBEN: "An Oracle of Nahum."

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1*s.*, at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

Alker, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

Amélineau, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

——————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

——————— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

Amiaud, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.

——————— A., and L. Mechineau, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.

——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.

Baethgen, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.

Blass, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.

Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vol. I—III (Brugsch).

——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés pas H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)

Budinger, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.

Burckhardt, Eastern Travels.

Cassel, Paulus, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.

Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.

Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.

——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.

——————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.

——————————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.

Ebers, G., Papyrus Ebers.

Erman, Papyrus Westcar.

Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

Gayet, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.

Golénischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.

——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.

Grant-Bey, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.

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Hommel, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.

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JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
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LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berichsichtignung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
LEHMANN, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 vehr, p. xiv, 173; 47 plates.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
MARUCHI, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
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WILCKEN, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
WILTZKE, De Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.
WINCKLER, HUGO, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.
——— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
WEISSLEACH, F. H., Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art.
WESSELEY, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
ZIMMERN, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

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VOL. XX. TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, May 3rd, 1898.

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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

Fourth Meeting, 3rd May, 1898.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Publishers, Eyre and Spottiswoode, The Queen's Printers Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible. With illustrations selected and described by the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—Ein Altägyptischer Weltschopfungsmythus. *Der Urquell*, Bd. VIII, H. 3u, 4 S. 57–75.

From the Author, P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. :—Gli Hetheipelasgi in Italia, Gl' Italici nella paletnologia. Sommario. *Civilta Cattolica*, 19 March, 1898.

From the Author, P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. :—Gli Hetheipelasgi in Italia, Gl' Italici nella paletnologia. Sommario. *Civilta Cattolica*, 19 February, 1898.

From the Author, P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. :—Gli Hetheipelasgi in Italia, Gl' Itali della Storia. Sommario. *Civilta Cattolica*, 16 April, 1898.

From the Author, Georg Ebers :—Sir Peter le Page Renouf. *Deutsche Revue*, March, 1898. 8vo.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 7th June, 1898 :—

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, The Palace, Ely.

Wynne, E. Baxter, LL.D., J.P., 170, Church Street, Stoke Newington.

Rev. George H. Box, M.A., Hebrew Master, Merchant Taylors' School.

James Chisholm, 16, Knowe Terrace, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Charles Marston, Highfields, Wolverhampton.

Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., etc., 6, Palace Mansions, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

The following Candidate was elected a member, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 1st March, 1898 :—

M. l'Abbé Leuridan, Bibliothècaire des Facultés Catholiques, Lille.

Dr. Paul Ruben read a paper entitled, "An Oracle of Nahum."

Remarks were added by Mr. T. G. Pinches, Mr. John Tuckwell, Dr. Paul Ruben, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

AN ORACLE OF NAHUM.

By Dr. Paul Ruben.

The verses Nahum i, 12, unto ii, 14, form a literary unity. It is true, they are interrupted, as Wellhausen has seen, by some lines of quite a different character (i, 13, ii, 1, 3), which we must discard; but apart from this, the verses beginning כה אמר ה׳ and ending לא ישמע עוד קול מלאכה represent one proclamation, complete in itself.

The book of Nahum has been a favourite subject with biblical students during late years, Wellhausen, Gunkel, Jeremias, Billerbeck, Nowack, having done their best to elucidate the meaning of obscure words and passages. More especially Adolf Billerbeck, a retired colonel of the German army, has tried to throw light upon the text with the help of a thorough military study of the Assyrian fortifications, Nineveh itself being perhaps the most perfectly preserved example of an ancient fortress throughout the whole of Western Asia.*

Whilst trying to put an entirely new construction upon some passages, I shall refrain from discussing all that scholars, ancient and modern, have said upon every word and sentence of our oracle. But before commencing the interpretation proper, I should like to make two general remarks.

First.—The whole prophecy is written in lines or *στίχοι*, every *στίχος* consisting of two or three *κῶλα*. This division of the *στίχοι* is apparent wherever the text is clear and intact beyond doubt. On the other hand, we frequently notice that evident corruptions of the text generally involve the non-appearance of the rythmic division.

Secondly.—Wherever the Hebrew dictionary does not supply us with a perfectly satisfactory explanation of a word, we are entitled to avail ourselves of the dictionaries of other Semitic languages.

* *v.* Beiträge zur Assyriologie (Delitzsch and Haupt), III, 1, p. 114, sqq.

The following are two examples, which will establish this principle beyond doubt.

The first verse of the oracle begins: כה אמר יהוה אם שלמים וכן רבים וכן נגזו ועבר, and is usually translated: "Thus saith the Lord: Though they be quiet and likewise many, yet thus shall they be cut down, when he shall pass through," or "Thus saith the Lord: If they would have been at peace, so should they have been many, and so should they have been shorn, and he should have passed away." Nobody would quote these words as a specimen of Nahum's forcible and perspicuous style. Now the LXX translates *κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν*, reading משל מים רבים, *i.e.*, they did not read the first וכן (before רבים), which has apparently crept in from the next *κῶλον*. That מים רבים is the true reading has already been observed by others; compare Nah. i, 8, "But with an overrunning flood He will make an utter end of His enemies."* But what is hidden in the letters אמשל? No doubt, the imperfect tense of a verb, the subject of which is the Lord, and the object מים רבים, and which has some such meaning as "I shall send, I shall summon, I shall cause to flow." Now Arabic مَسَلَ has the signification "to flow," and I have therefore no hesitation in writing אַמַשֵּׁל מים רבים (or אַמְשִׁיל) instead of אם שלמים [וכן] רבים: "Thus saith the Lord: I shall cause to flow mighty waters."

The seventh and eighth verses of the second chapter run:

שערי הנהרות נפתחו. וההיכל נמוג: והצב גלתה העלתה
ואמהתיה מנהגות בקול יונים מתופפות על לבבהן:

Because of the suffix of ואמהתֶיהָ ("and *her* maidens") exegetes have known long ago, that the name or the title of the Assyrian Queen must be hidden somewhere in the preceding words. Now the LXX translates והצב "*καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις*," *i.e.*, they considered the ה of this word as the article. A most useful hint, for it induces us to connect the words הַהיכל נמוג and the words והַצב גלתה so as to form one *κῶλον*. It is a subdivided *κῶλον*, which frequently occurs in Nahum's book, and which usually consists of four or

* Instead of מקומה read בקמיו (LXX, Buhl).

occasionally of five words, with a little interpunction in the middle, *e.g.*, ii, 10, בזו כסף בזו זהב; ולב נמס ופיק ברכים; iii, 3, ולהב חרב וברק חנית.

Consequently the words שערי—גלתה form one στίχος, the next one beginning העלתה, in which that Assyrian name or title must be hidden. Now Assyrian *etellu*, fem. *etellitu*, means "great, high, exalted,"* and as substantive "Lord," fem. "Lady"; it is used of kings and gods. I read therefore והעתלה ואמהתיה מנהגות, "and the Lady and her maidens are sighing."†

But let us not yet put aside the Assyrian dictionary. If the word הצב is parallel to ההיכל—although I do not know what צב means, then גלתה must be parallel to נמוג. Now the meaning of גלת in Assyrian is "to be frightened," whilst the Assyrian form corresponding to the Hebrew Piel signifies "to frighten." The κῶλον means, therefore, "The palace is terrified and the Ṣab is frightened."

And now let us begin the interpretation proper.

i, 12. The words כה אמר ... רבים I have already explained. Then the Masoretic text goes on, וכן נגזו ועבר. We must, of course, read ועברו, as Wellhausen does, and must refer this verb to the waters, עבר frequently meaning "to flow," com. Is. viii, 8; liv, 9; Nah. i, 8. And it is to the waters that we must also apply נגזו, I propose to read יִנָּגְרוּ "they will stream and flow."‡ But what is וכן? "and so" gives no sense. Very probably it is an adverb, defining the mode of flowing, as רבים explains the substantive מים. In Arabic وَكَنَ means "ran quickly," "sped onwards"; possibly Nahum wrote וָכֵן, an adverbial infinitive, *cf.* מַהֵר, Judges ii, 17, סרו מהר מן הדרך, "they turned quickly out of the way." "Quickly they shall stream and flow."

ועתתך לא אענך עוד. These words are usually translated, "Though I have afflicted thee, I will not afflict thee any more."

* I quote from Delitzsch's dictionary, that splendid work of reference, without the help of which the present remarks would never have been offered.

† My correction of העלתה into העתלה was published in the *Academy* as long ago as March, 1896.

‡ Peshita translates דגרו "quæ rapuerunt." This version is occasionally influenced by the LXX.

But though no objection can be offered to this translation, we must not forget that "le meilleur est l'ennemi du bon." The LXX translates *καὶ ἡ ἀκοή σου οὐκ ἐνακουσθήσεται ἔτι*, "and thy fame shall never again be heard of." This implies that they read ועזתך לא תענה עוד. Is this mere guess work? Did they wilfully change the א of אענך into ת and the ך into ה? I do not believe it; both these interchanges have very often taken place in manuscripts of the Old Testament without being caused by clerical arbitrariness. But the translation may be guess work. Certainly. But very clever guess work. In a text published by Mr. Pinches * the following words occur: "šušḳussu ina iṣ ZAG.SAL lizzamirma, tanittašu leïni"; they are translated by Delitzsch, "his sublimity shall be celebrated on the Z (a musical instrument) and his praise shall resound." Here we have an Assyrian root אנה, "to sound," some forms of which have, I believe, been preserved to us in the Hebrew characters of our passage. I read ועזתך לא תַעֲנֶה עוד, and translate, "And the sound of thy name shall no longer resound."

v. 13 has been rejected by Wellhausen; v. 14 presents no difficulties; it ends with קברך; the words כי קלות must not be connected with this verse. They may be a corruption of כי עלה † and probably belong to the beginning of the second verse of the second chapter, this verse being the continuation of our verse. For the first verse of the second chapter must be discarded, as Wellhausen has already recognised.

Chapter ii, v. 2. Instead of מֵפִיץ T. D. Michaelis reads מַפִּיץ; instead of פָּנֶיךָ Perles proposes פָּנַיִךְ. Both conjectures are very acceptable.‡ We must, however, read פָּנֶיךָ, for Wellhausen has conclusively shown that throughout the whole oracle a male being is addressed (*i.e.* Assur). Instead of מצורה we must read מַצָּרָה, this change being suggested by the LXX and Peshita. נצר מצרה means, "Be on the watch."

* *v. Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing*, I, p. 16, Rev. 11.

† The same interchange of letters has taken place, Hos. vii, 3; ברעתם M. בריקיהם T.

‡ We may, however, retain the reading מֵפִיץ, and accordingly render, "he who causes to overflow." Comp. Zach. i, 17; Prov. v, 16; Job xl, 11.

We must discard v. 3 (Wellhausen).

v. 4. This verse is usually translated "the shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men are in scarlet, the chariots shall be with flaming torches in the day of his preparation," or something to that effect; some scholars read כאש instead of באש; others display considerable learning on the subject of red uniforms; but it is remarkable that these explanations are very far from finding general approval.

Let us turn to the old versions. מתלעים is translated by the LXX ἐμπαίζοντες—they read מתעללים. התעלל means "to mock," and is generally constructed with the preposition בְּ. Is it then so very difficult to see that באש is a defective writing for בְּאִישׁ? "The valiant men mock at man," comp. Hab. i, 9. "And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them." Just as באש is באיש, so מאדם is מֵאָדָם, and so it was already understood by the LXX. Still מגן remains obscure; but it is evidently parallel to מתעללים. It is hardly an accident that Arabic مَجَنَ means "was rude, coarse, was impudent, joked, jested." I write מָגְנוּ, and accordingly translate the first κῶλα: "Overbearing are his warriors with more than human pride; the valiant ones mock at man." In the third κῶλον הרכב is subject, and consequently פלדת predicate. We may perhaps identify פלדת with פלצות, as Perles * has identified מדע (Ecclesiastes x, 20) with מצע. The interchange of Dāl and Ḍad is not unusual in Arabic dialects (v. Hirschfeld in *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 308). I throw out this suggestion for what it is worth. My rendering will then be, "A terror are the chariots in the hour of their readiness" (comp. Prov. xxi, 31).

With והברשים a new verse begins, and with this verse the description of what is going on outside the town, what the beleaguered—or rather those surprised by the enemy—try to do for their defence. We must join the words והברשים הרעלו בחוצות as the LXX does, and must read ירעלו instead of הרעלו and פְּרָשִׁים instead of בְּרֹשִׁים on the authority of the same version. Observe that the second and the third κῶλα are subdivided.

* *Analekten zur textkritik des Alten Testaments*, p. 71.

מראיהן refers to הרכב, and it is for this reason that some scholars have supposed רכב to be here a feminine, whilst others have written מראיהם. Both are wrong. יֵיהּ is used as a masculine suffix in a popular song quoted by Ezekiel in his twenty-third chapter, where the suffixes of תזנותיהן, ראשיהן, ידיהן refer to the men, not to the girl.* No certain version of the words ישתקשקון, יתהוללו, ירעלו exists; ירעלו and ישתקשקון may refer to tactical formations.

v. 6. The beginning of this verse is thus translated by the LXX: *καὶ μνησθήσονται οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτῶν καὶ φεύξονται ἡμέρας καὶ ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ αὐτῶν.* They read: וזכרו אדיריהם ונסו ביום וכשלו בהליכתם, the reading וזכרו אדיריהם instead of the Masoretic יזכר אדיריו being confirmed by the Targum. We immediately see that ביום יכשלו בהליכתם form one *κῶλον*: "In broad daylight they stumble on their march;" *cf.* Is. lix, 10, "We stumble at noon-day as in the night." Nowack is quite right, when he thinks that Nahum is here speaking of the infantry; but what were the exact words the prophet used? ונסו in all probability is the predicate of the preceding *κῶλον*, and ought therefore be emended to ינסו. Now the verb נוס has in *one* passage the meaning to hurry, "to hasten," and does not signify "to flee away." I refer to "Is. xxx, 16, לא כי על סוס ננוס, "No, but on horses will we fly" (Cheyne), where—remarkably enough—we have not the prophet's own language, but he quotes other people's words. In our passage, where the prophet does not speak of flight, but of a rapid march from the town barracks to the walls (ימהרו חמיתה), ינסו can only mean "they hurry onwards."

Now the suffix of אדיריהם evidently points to somebody with whom these אדירים are connected; as we have already seen, this can only be the infantry, and it is to this substantive that the letters וזכרו refer. The Assyrian word for infantry is "*zu-ku*," and it is, I think, more than probable that Nahum said וְזִכְךָ וַאדיריהם יָנֻסוּ, "And thy infantry with their officers† hurry onwards."

* I have tried to restore the text of that song in my *Critical Remarks*, p. 22, but I was mistaken when introducing in these three cases the termination יֵיהֶם.

† Comp. Acts xxi, 32, *παραλαβὼν στρατιώτας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους.*

What the words והמן הסכך mean can only be guessed, but in order that even our guessing should pursue the right course, we must briefly glance at the map of Nineveh.

Nineveh* was situated where the Choser disembogues into the Tigris, and formed an irregular quadrangle. On the western side of it two hills rose, crowned with royal buildings—these hills are now called Kuyundschik and Nebi-Yunus. The latter rises to-day to nearly 30 metres above the Tigris, the Kuyundschik still a little higher. But apart from these hills the western part of the town was lower than the eastern. The Choser flowed through the city in two beds, a northern and a southern; the northern was a canal, the southern was the natural course, and entered the town by three sluices, the remainders of which are still preserved.

The whole place was surrounded by walls, the materials for which were partly furnished by the moats which surrounded the walls on two sides (north-west and east), the western wall being protected by the Tigris, the southern by a rivulet. The western wall was 4,300 metres long,† the eastern 5,000, the northern 2,000, the southern 800. Between the north-west and east walls and their moats there is a space of varying breadth, which is never narrower than 50 metres. The average breadth of the moats is 45 metres.‡

These moats, the sides of which are quite perpendicular, and all hewn out of the rock, were filled by the Choser and divided by batardeaus—*i.e.*, dams with sluices—into several basins, in order to regulate the level of the water.§ At the western and southern points of the fortress the moats were connected with the Tigris and with the rivulet.

Of the outer fortifications I must mention those in front of the southern part of the eastern wall; a crescent-shaped bulwark and a gigantic double wall more than 4,000 metres in length east of this bulwark. Nahum's entire idea of the manner in which Nineveh was to be destroyed—that it was to be taken by surprise and devastated by water—could hardly have been thought of at a time when that bulwark and those big outer walls were already in exist-

* *v.* Jeremias and Billerbeck, *l.c.*, pp. 118–127.

† To-day the foot of the wall is still 7–10 metres higher than the lowest level of the Tigris.

‡ They are now $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 metres deep, their original depth is unknown.

§ In Billerbeck's map the sites which are still preserved are indicated by B_1 B_2, etc., whilst small b_1 b_2 refer to conjectural batardeaus.

ence and kept by a sufficient number of defenders. Colonel Billerbeck's words are therefore remarkable—and perhaps useful for the chronology of our oracle; he says: "Several reasons bear out the suggestion that the high outer wall was built by Assurbanipal in a hurry during the great Susian war." *

Now Nahum says—in the ninth verse of our chapter, "And Nineveh has become like a pool of water"; and as we have no right to interpret these words otherwise than literally, we must assume that according to the expectation of the prophet the whole town, or at least its lower parts, would be inundated by water, the walls forming, so to say, the edges of the pool; and that this would take place by means of those "mighty waters" which the Lord promised to send at the beginning of this prophecy. As has already been observed by the commander Jones,† who together with Dr. Hyslop mapped the whole site as early as 1852, an inundation can only have been caused by the Choser, not by the Tigris. Then the words of v. 7, "the gates of the rivers are opened," refer to the sluices by which, at two points, as we have already seen, the Choser could enter the town; according to this prophecy, they were not to be opened by the natural force of the swollen river, but by the hand of the enemy, which the author has taken pains to describe. We can quite understand how the royal family, looking down from the acropolis and seeing the waters enter the town, was seized with fear (ההיכל נמוג). Two difficulties, however, were to be overcome if the town was to be filled with water. First, the outlets of the Choser had to be stopped; and, secondly, the moats that surrounded the fortress, and that were usually filled by the waters of the Choser, had to be shut, in order to concentrate the whole power of the water to the inner town. Everybody who has observed a swollen river in the mountains, will have seen that its current bears down with it heaps of stones and trees, which in a very short time bar its bed and so cause inundations. That is very natural, and Nahum may have foreseen it with regard to the Choser, without saying so explicitly. But the barring of the moats had to be done by the

* To the building of this wall the words of Nahum (iii, 14, 15) may refer: "Draw the waters for the siege, fortify thy strongholds; go into clay and tread the mortar, make strong the brick-kiln; there shall the fire devour thee, the sword shall cut thee off."

† *v. J.R.A.S.*, 15, p. 297 sqq.

enemy, and it seems to be this that Nahum foretells in the words והכן הסכך. The Targum and the LXX seem to have read a plural form both of the verb and of the substantive; they point to the readings והכנו and הַסֻּכִּים. Now *sukkê* means in Assyrian the sides of a canal, or, as Carl Bezold translates it in one of Neriglissar's inscriptions,* its bed. Whilst I do not doubt that this word has been used here by Nahum, I am not bold enough to assert anything about the origin of והכנו; the meaning is probably, "and closed is the bed of the moats."†

I have already said that I do not know the meaning of צב, v. 10, but I must mention that one of de Rossi's codices has in v. 9 ונצבת instead of וינוה; and that והנצבת may be a misplaced *varia lectio* for והצב, and may perhaps one day lead to its elucidation.‡

V. 9. The Masoretic text reads וינוה כברכת מים מימי היא והמה נסים עמדו עמדו ואין מפנה. The words "Stand, stand," are apparently a command given by the officers to the soldiers; but what is מימי היא and והמה? Instead of מימי היא the LXX reads מימיה, and I will say without further circumlocution that מימיה and והמה stand for the same word; this word must be the subject of נסים, containing as it does the termination יָהּ, it must refer to וינוה, and must therefore mean something like "her defenders." If we now bear in mind the number of Arabic words that occur in our prophecy, and that Arabic حمى means "to defend," the reading הוֹמְיָהּ, "her defenders," may appear to be a

* *V.* Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche bibliothek* III, 2, pp. 74, 75, "*la ib-na-a su-uk-ki-šu . . . i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri ab-na-a su-uk-ki-šu*," 'He had not built its bed . . . I built its bed with tiles and bricks.'"

† Instead of והכנו we ought perhaps to write וְכָהֵנ, bearing in mind the Assyrian phrase "*ku-un daltum*, 'to close the door'" (see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 24, 322). Does כֹּהֵן originally mean, "he who closes" (the door of the sanctuary)? *cf.* κληδοῦχος, κληδουχεῖν. Now, whether we read והכנו or וכהנו, in either case this verbal form is a perfect and not an imperfect; showing us that this verb does not continue the narrative began by ימהרו, יבישלו, ינסו, but interrupts it; and indeed, after the bad omen suggested in the words, "they stumble on their march," we are quite prepared to expect that this forced march is to be crowned by a disappointment—they come too late. Perhaps פכים designates here the batardeaus.

‡ *V.* Jeremias in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (Delitzsch and Haupt), III, 1, p. 102; הנצרת?

good conjecture, especially as the origin of both the readings והמה and מימיה may be thus explained. Yet חומיה is not merely a conjecture, but is undoubtedly the original reading. That invaluable codex of the LXX, the Codex Alexandrinus, reads *τείχη ὕδατα αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτοί*, *i.e.*, חומות מימיה והמה, these three words representing three corruptions of חוֹמֶיהָ, the first of which still preserves the first three letters of that word. It is likewise only the Codex Alexandrinus that reads at the beginning of this line *καὶ Νινευὴ ἦν κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος*, and thus shows that ברכת מים (or בברכת) is the predicate of ניוה. Perhaps we must insert after ניוה the word היתה, "has become," taking into account the *ἦν* of the Codex Alexandrinus.

In v. 12 I propose reading with Wellhausen מערה, "cave," instead of מרעה, "feeding-place," and לבוא, "to pass the night" (comp. the LXX), instead of לביא, "lioness." Coming to verse 14, the Masoretic text has רכבה, the LXX רבבה (*τὸ πλῆθός σου*), which comes nearer to the accurate reading. The prophet certainly means to say "thy den," and we accordingly read ארבבה; *cf.* Job xxxvii, 8, ותבוא חיה במו ארב, "then the beasts go into dens."

Two questions now present themselves to us:—

First. At what time was this oracle written? Has it, perhaps, any connection with Diodorus' narrative that Nineveh was actually destroyed through an inundation of the river (2, 27)? But I should like to defer the answer until the text of the other chapters has been restored.

Secondly. How can we explain the linguistic peculiarities of our prophecy? Two of these, the termination הן instead of הם (in מראיהן), and the word נום, meaning "to hurry," occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, at places where—we must bear in mind—a popular saying or a popular song is quoted, and we are probably right in assuming that, what makes the language of our piece so very strange, is partly its popular character.

With regard to the Assyrian words עבה, "to sound," זך, "infantry," סך, "canal-bed," גלת, "to be frightened," and עתלה, "lady," there is at least a possibility of explaining them. The author may have lived in Assyria, the capital of which he seems to know very well, and quite naturally incorporated into his language Assyrian words. We have no proof that an Israelitish community

lived in the neighbourhood, but it is more than likely that such was the case, and that Nahum merely availed himself of a dialect which was *au courant* and appealed to by a body of his compatriots.

But how about the Arabic words? (مَسَلَ "to flow," وَكَنَ "to hurry," مَحَنَ "to be impertinent," نَهَجَ "to pant," حَمَى "to defend"). This is the difficult problem which this oracle propounds. It is a difficulty, the existence of which we must respect, and not by any means try to explain away. For I am not able to explain it.

Text.

[I have enclosed within brackets those words, the restoration of which is uncertain.]

i. 12 כה אמר יהוה ‖ אֲמַשֵּׁג מים רבים
וָכֵן [ינגרו] ועברו ‖ ועניתך לא תענה עוד׃
14 וצוה עליך יהוה ‖ לא יזרע משמך עוד
מבית אלהיך אכרית פסל ‖ ומסכה אשים קברך׃
ii. 2 [בו] עלה מפיץ על פניך ‖ נצור מצרה צפה דרך ‖ חזק
מתנים אמץ כח מאד׃
4 מגנו גבוריהו מֵאָדָם ‖ אנשי חיל מתעללים באיש ‖
פלדת הרכב ביום הכינו׃
5 והפרשים ירעלו בחוצות ‖ יתהוללו הרכב ישתקשקון
ברחבות ‖ מראיהן כלפידים כברקים ירוצצו׃
6 וזכר ואדיריה[ן] ינסו ‖ ביום יכשלו בהליכתם ‖ ימהרו
חומתה ו[הכנ]ו הסכים׃
7 שערי הנהרות נפתחו ‖ וההיכל נמוג וה[צב] גלתה׃
8 והעתלה ואמהתיה מנהגות | בקול יונים ‖ מתופפות על
לבבהן׃
9 ונינוה [היתה כ]ברכת מים | והומיה נסים ‖ עמדו עמדו
ואין מפנה׃
10 בזו כסף בזו זהב ‖ ואין קצה לתכונה ‖ כבוד מכל כלי
חמדה׃

11 בוקה ומבוקה ומבלקה ‖ ולב נמס ופיק ברכים
וחלחלה בכל מתנים ‖ ופני כלם קבצו פארור :
12 איה מעון אריות ‖ ומיערה היא לכפירים
אשר הלך אריה לבוא שם ‖ גור אריה ואין מחריד :
13 אריה טרף בדי גרותיו ‖ ומחנק ללבאתיו ‖ וימלא טרף
חריו ‖ ומעונתיו טרפה :
14 הנני אליך נאם יהוה צבאות
והבערתי בעשן ארבבה ‖ וכפיריך תאכל חרב
והכרתי מארץ טרפך ‖ ולא ישמע עוד קול מלאכיה :

TRANSLATION.

i. 12 Thus saith the Lord: || I shall cause to flow mighty waters,
Quickly shall they stream and run || and the sound of thy name shall no longer resound.

14 And the Lord has given a commandment concerning thee || that no more of thy issue shall be sown,
Out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image || and the molten image I will make thy grave.

ii. 2 For he, who is to cause thy inundation, has come up before thy battlements || mount the guard, watch the way || make thy loins strong, fortify thy power mightly.

4 Overbearing are his warriors with more than human pride || the valiant ones make sport with man || a terror are the chariots in the hour of their preparation.

5 And the horses rattle in the streets || the chariots rage, and jostle one against another in the broad way, || they seem like torches, like the lightnings they run.

6 And thy infantry with their officers hurry onwards || in broad daylight they stumble on their march || they make haste to the wall, and closed in the bed of the moats.

7 The gates of the rivers are opened || the palace trembles
and the Ṣab is frightened.

8 And the Queen and her maids moan | as with the
voice of doves, || tabering upon their breasts.

9 And Nineveh has become like a pool of water | and
her defenders fleeing || "stand, stand" but none
shall look back.

10 Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold || and
infinite store || and the mass of all precious vessels.

11 She is empty and void and waste || and the heart
melteth and the knees smite together,
And much pain is in all loins || and the faces of all
withdraw their colour.

12 Where is the dwelling of the lions || and the cave of the
young lions,
Where the lion walked in order to pass the night || and
the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid.

13 The lion, that tore in pieces enough for his whelps |
and strangled for his lionesses || and filled his holes
with prey | and his dens with ravin?

14 Behold I am against thee, says the Lord of hosts,
And I will burn thy den in the smoke || and the sword
shall devour thy young lions,
And I will cut off thy prey from the earth || and the
voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.

USHABTI-BOX OF NES-PA-CHRED, A PRIEST OF MENTU.

By W. L. Nash, F.S.A.

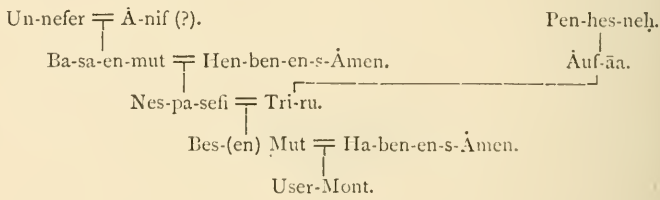
This Ushabti-box was found at Thebes. It is of wood, and measures 13 inches in length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. The ends of the box are 3 inches higher than the front and back, and are rounded at the top. The lid, which is missing, must therefore have been semi-circular. The surface is covered with a coating of white lime, on which the hieroglyphics are written in blue. All four surfaces were inscribed, but the characters on the back are so defaced as to be illegible. The translation, for the revision and correction of which I am indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, F.S.A., commences at the left-hand of the front, is continued on the right end, on the back, and finishes on the left end. It reads:—

Front.—"Spell spoken by the Osiris, Priest of Mentu Lord of Uast, Nes-pa-chred, deceased, Son of Priest of Mentu Lord of Uast."

Right-end.—"Bes-en-mut deceased. Oh, Ushabti."

Left-end.—"Smite down obstructions there for a person . . . . ."

Dr. A. Wiedemann (*Proceedings*, Vol. XI, p. 69) drew attention to the sarcophagi and other objects relating to the Priests of Mont, which were found in their family tomb at Dêr el Bahari in 1850. gives the following genealogy:—



Nes-pa-chred, for whom my Ushabti-box was made, would appear to have been a brother of User-Mont, unless he was the son of some later Bes-en-mut than appears on Dr. Wiedemann's list.

PLATE I.

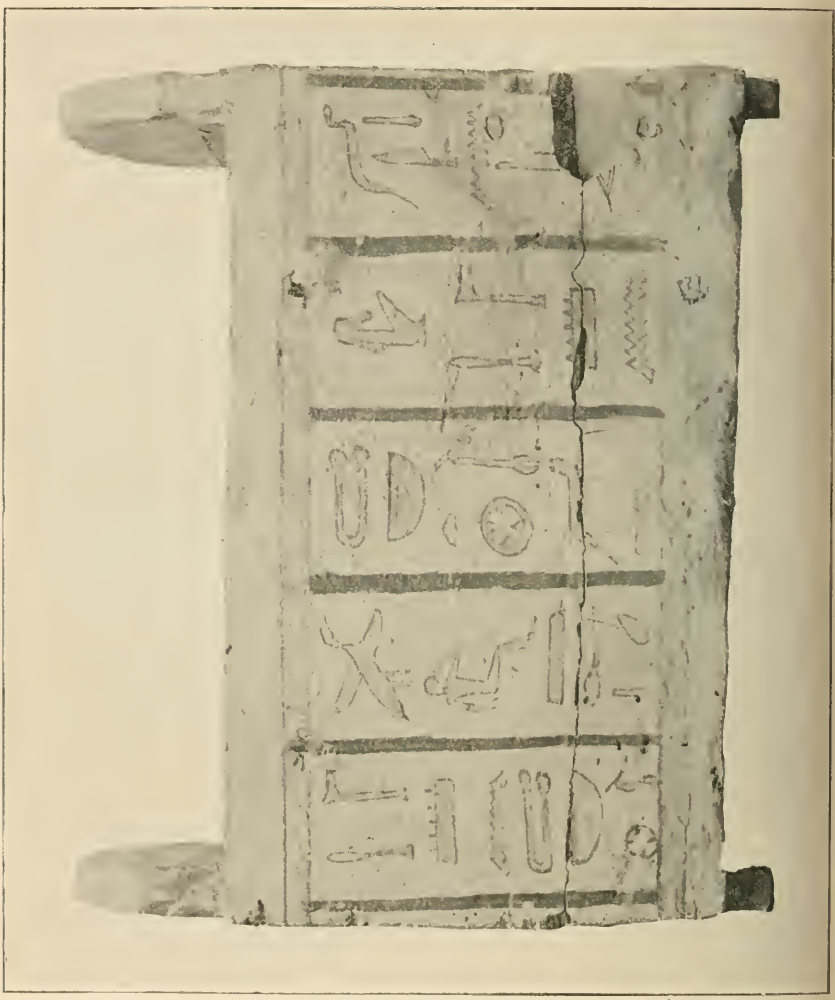
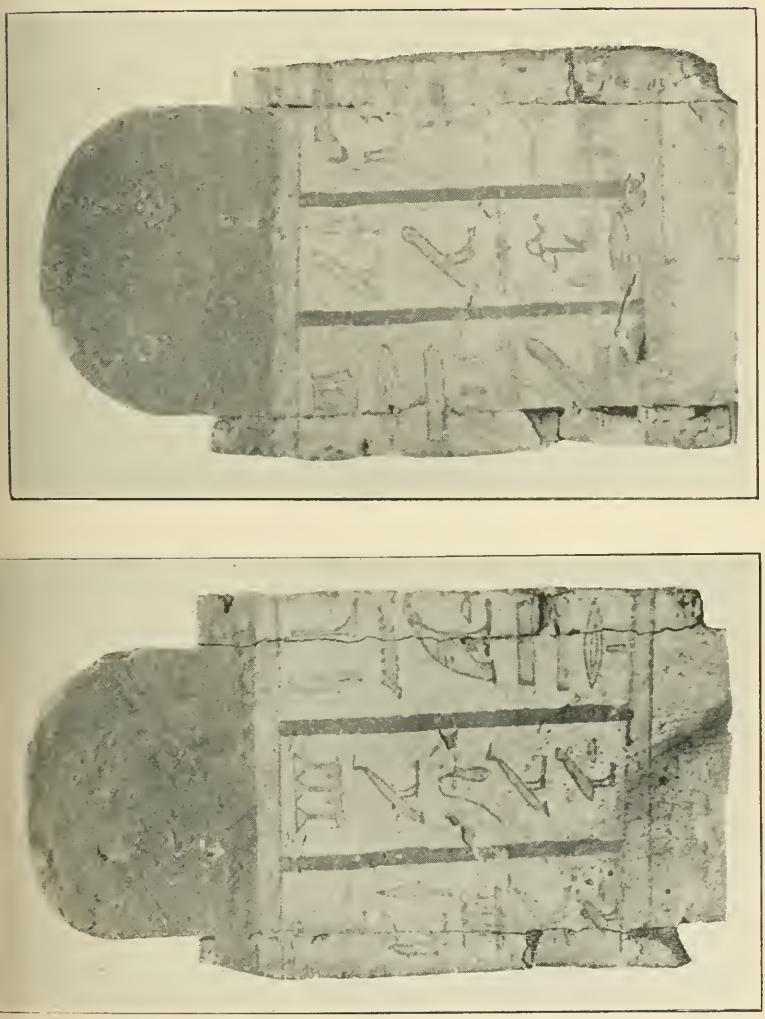


PLATE II.



USHABTI-BOX OF NES-PA-CHRED.
In the Collection of WALTER L. NASH, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE KUTHÆAN LEGEND OF THE CREATION.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

In the last number of the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* (xx, 1, 2), Dr. Scheil has published a very curious text, which he believes to "prove the existence of a new king," Tukulti-bil-nisi. The text is, however, a variant either of part or of the whole of that which Mr. George Smith regarded as the Kuthæan Legend of the Creation, the true meaning of which, in consequence of its mutilated condition, is still enigmatical. I have often thought of publishing it, along with certain other texts of which I made copies many years ago, but other work, and perhaps the laziness of advancing years, have hindered my doing so, and I now learn from Luzac's *Oriental List* that my neglected duty has been performed by Prof. Zimmern. Dr. Scheil's inscription throws a little light upon the Kuthæan text, as it seems to show that the latter has nothing to do with the story of the creation.

I published a translation of the Kuthæan text in 1888 in the first volume of the new series of the *Records of the Past* (pp. 147–53). A reference to the volume will show that the portion of the new tablet which Dr. Scheil has copied and translated corresponds with column I, line 19, to column II, line 4, of the Kuthæan legend. But there are several variations; the new text contains interpolations, and one or two passages in it which are not intelligible as they stand, will have to be corrected by the Kuthæan version. Unfortunately here in Egypt, where I am writing, I have not got my copy of the Kuthæan version, and consequently have to work back to it from memory through the help of my translation in the *Records of the Past.*

Dr. Scheil's text must be translated as follows :—

"It was utterly smitten; not a man remained alive.
In the second (year) an army of 120,000 (two sosses of thousands) I sent forth, and

it was utterly smitten; it filled the plain (with the dead).
In the third (year) an army of 60,000 I sent forth, and
I multiplied it more than before.
After it had overcome (?) an army of 360,000
it was smitten with utter destruction.
I, Tukulti-bel-nisi,
was in woe (*akala*), in sorrow and trouble, and I cried out
saying: verily it is I, and yet what have I left to reign over?
I am a king who saves not his country ([*ma-*]*ti*),
and a shepherd who saves not his people.
As for me what have I left to reign over?
Since I have caused corpses
to be thrown on (the earth), and have sent forth an army
to destroy the plain of Akkad.
The mighty foe gathered together (his forces)."

With this let us compare the corresponding lines in the Kuthæan tablet:—

"The first year as it passed
120,000 warriors I sent forth, and among them
not one returned alive.
The second year as it passed I sent forth 90,000 warriors,
and none returned alive.
The third year as it passed I sent forth 60,700, and none
returned alive.
They were carried away, they were smitten with destruction.
I was in woe,
and trouble and anguish.
Thus did I speak to my heart, saying: Verily it is I, and
yet what have I left to reign over?
I am a king who saves not his country,
and a shepherd who saves not his people.
Since I have caused corpses to be thrown on (the earth) and
have left a desert."

There is nothing said here either about Tukulti-bil-nisi or the destruction of the plain of Akkad, and it is therefore a question whether or not they are interpolations in the text discovered by Dr. Scheil.

It is possible that the legend contained in the two texts was similar to the Egyptian story of the destruction of rebellious

mankind by the god Ra, but modified by the Chaldæan doctrine that the rebels were the brood of Tiamat the dragon of Chaos, and a sort of first attempt in the way of creating man, not the real ancestors of the present human race. If so, the story would have described how those pre-human men, whose city was underground, were destroyed, and the earth made ready to receive its present inhabitants. They are said to have been composite creatures of monstrous aspect: "warriors with the body of a bird of the valley, men with the faces of ravens," such as were depicted on the walls of the temple of Bel.

A. H. SAYCE.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO HADRIAN'S JEWISH WAR.

May 21, 1898.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Since the publication of my remarks upon "Roman Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War," two new texts have been discovered, throwing additional light upon the subject. One of these is an inscription from Amwas (Nicopolis), confirming the presence there about the time of Titus of the Legio V Macedonica, and should be added to the evidence given upon page 8 of the present volume of the *Proceedings*. It reads as follows: "Lucius Sabinius Amasio miles legionis V Macedonicae, centuria Stimini annorum XXV militavit.*

The other text is nothing less than the recovery of the missing half (tabella posterior) of the new Syrian military diploma of the time of Hadrian, containing the names of some twelve witnesses to the diploma, so that document is now entirely complete.†

Yours truly,

JOSEPH OFFORD.

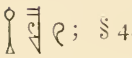
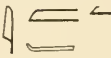
* *Revue Biblique*, 1898, p. 270.

† *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*, 1897, p. 680.

CONTRIBUTIONS AU DICTIONNAIRE HIÉROGLYPHIQUE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

Premier Article.

§ 1. Le mot  ; § 2. Le mot  ; § 3. Le mot  ; § 4.  , mot nouveau; § 5.  , mot nouveau; § 6. La lecture des deux titres pharaoniques  et  .

§ 1. Au temple d'Edfou, on rencontre, par-ci par-là, un groupe que, dans mon ouvrage consacré à ce monument,* j'ai regardé comme exact, sans d'ailleurs me prononcer sur la lecture à y attribuer. Dans l'"Avant-Propos du Temple d'Edfou," qui vient de paraître, l'auteur, M. G. MASPERO (p. ix), décrète que le groupe en question est à regarder comme une inexactitude commise par moi, inexactitude qu'aurait évité de commettre M. MASPERO lui-même, dans sa copie correspondant à la page 51, ligne 5, de mon ouvrage cité. Suivant ce savant, pour être exact, j'aurais dû, comme lui, lire le groupe en question.

Cette affirmation de l'honorable savant français se montre particulièrement malheureuse, puisque, à la page 370 (ligne 6) de son "Temple d'Edfou," on rencontre justement ceci: , d'accord avec ce que donne (page 43, ligne 4) ma publication susmentionnée, citée et employée par lui.

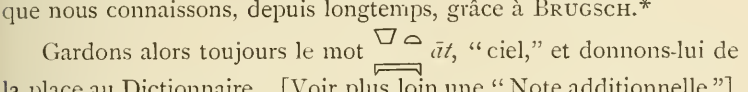
Il y a donc assurément un mot , malgré l'assertion contraire de M. MASPERO. Quelle est donc la lecture de ce mot? Le signe ayant plusieurs valeurs, notamment celles † de *usech*, *ā*, on

* *Cfr.* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques.* Seconde Série, Upsala, 1890, Pl. XLIII, ligne 4; Pl. LI, ligne 5; Pl. LII, ligne 2, etc.

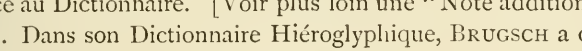
† Pour être complet, il faut aussi énumérer les valeurs *b*, *ḫon*, *āb* et *āu*.

pourrait répondre à cette question de différentes manières. En lisant notre groupe *usech-t*, litt. "la vaste," on aurait là une bonne désignation du ciel. Pourtant, si je préfère le lire *ā-t*, c'est que je regarde  comme une variante du mot fréquent  *ā-t*, que nous connaissons, depuis longtemps, grâce à BRUGSCH.*

Gardons alors toujours le mot  *āt*, "ciel," et donnons-lui de la place au Dictionnaire. [Voir plus loin une "Note additionnelle"].

§ 2. Dans son Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique, BRUGSCH a consacré un article spécial à un groupe  , lequel est expliqué par lui ainsi: "subst. wie es scheint" Gelenk "oder vielleicht auch, "Knochen bedeutend." Le seul passage de texte qu'a cité BRUGSCH† (vol. I, page 26) pour le mot en question est celui-ci :  , "einbalsamirt sind seine Glieder, gereinigt sind seine Gelenke (Knochen?)." Cette traduction de BRUGSCH étant incorrecte, il faut la rectifier‡ et la remplacer par celle-ci : ("Les dieux Anubis qui accompagnent Osiris et réunissent les membres de l'*âme entière*), ceux qui préparent l'embaumement de ses membres et emmaillotent ses os."

A cet exemple on peut ajouter les suivants :

a.  ("enveloppés sont) tes os par les œuvres des embaumeurs."§

b.  "Elle purifie tes os, et te purifie à l'aide de ce qui sort d'elle-même." ‖

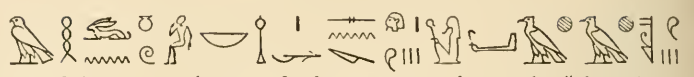
* BRUGSCH, *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, I, page 163.

† Un débutant d'égyptologie m'a fait remarquer dernièrement que "BRUGSCH a traduit, il y a fort longtemps, dans son Dictionnaire  par 'Knochen.'" Mais comme on voit, cette affirmation n'est nullement exacte, puisque le grand savant allemand a hésité entre "Gelenk" et "Knochen" comme sens du mot en question. Avis au dit débutant.

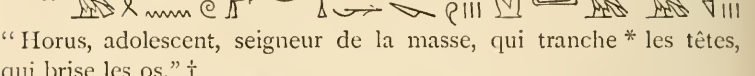
‡ En rectifiant BRUGSCH, nous ferons remarquer que cela se fait très souvent à l'aide de lui-même. Il nous a donné un si puissant instrument de travail en son Dictionnaire que, pendant des générations encore, celui-là servira de guide aux égyptologues. Cela est bon à inculquer dans les cerveaux bornés de certaines jeunes gens, oublieux des mérites du plus grand égyptologue après l'époque de Champollion.

§ LIEBLEIN, Le livre égyptien "que mon nom fleurisse," page 70.

‖ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, III, page 51, l.

c. 

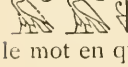
"Horus, adolescent, seigneur de la masse, qui tranche * les têtes, qui brise les os." †

d. 

"Tes membres subsistent par le lait de la vache *Achut*, ... , tes os sont en bon état, à la faveur de l'œil d'Horus blanc . . . . . " ‡

Le mot *achach* s'explique étymologiquement par le verbe fréquent  "verdoyer, pousser," ce qui montre qu'en appellant l'os *achach*, on l'a comparé avec une plante, une matière végétale. La présence du signe  , comme déterminatif du groupe qui nous occupe, dérive de l'emploi des os—spécialement le *tibia*—aux temps préhistoriques en qualité de *vrilles*. L'usage de se servir des *tibiæ* en qualité d'instruments à vriller, date au moins de l'âge de la pierre polie, où l'on pratiquait souvent les trous d'emmanchure des haches en pierre à l'aide d'os longs qui, à force d'un travail patient, perforaient l'instrument.

Le copte ⲥⲁϩ "vrille," qui correspond à  *saḥ*, nous semble appuyer la thèse que nous soutenons, suivant laquelle le simple représente une "vrille," et non pas un *ciseau*, comme le prétend E. DE ROUGÉ. §

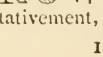
Voilà donc des preuves en faveur du sens "os" du groupes  , sens que nous croyons avoir le premier démontré pour le mot en question.‖ Il est intéressant de noter, à côté de la forme

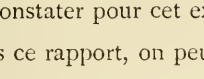
* Les éditeurs du "Temple d'Edfou" ont ici inventé un mot jusqu'ici inconnu  , qui doit être corrigé et rectifié à  , vocable fréquent selon BRUGSCH.

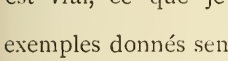
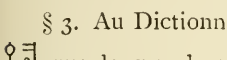
† ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, page 559.

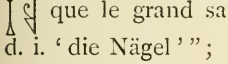
‡ BÉNÉDITE, *Philæ*, page 100.

§ *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, I, page 104.

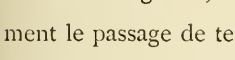
‖ Voir PIEHL dans *Sphinx*, I, page 171, où j'ai fort bien dit : "Je prouverai ailleurs l'existence du mot  "os" *qu'ignore le Dictionnaire*" ; puisque BRUGSCH s'est exprimé dubitativement, quant au sens du mot en question.

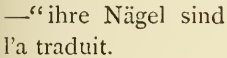
à  initial, une autre à  initial, comme dans le nom de dieu  .* La permutation de avec , que nous pouvons constater pour cet exemple, se rencontre aussi dans d'autres cas. Sous ce rapport, on peut citer  à côté de ,  à côté de , etc. Cette particularité montre qu'il y a une grande affinité de son entre les deux signes  et , au moins pour la basse époque, d'où datent tous ces exemples. S'il est vrai, ce que je crois, que représente une voyelle, les exemples donnés semblent indiquer que l'est aussi.

§ 3. Au Dictionnaire de BRUGSCH, il y a (III, page 1017) un mot  que le grand savant explique ainsi "'das Weisse' am Körper, d. i. 'die Nägel'"; et il cite en faveur de cette explication uniquement le passage de texte que voici:  —"ihre Nägel sind aus Silber, ihr Fleisch aus Gold," comme il l'a traduit.

A mon avis, le passage cité signifie plutôt "Ses os sont en argent, sa chair en or," traduction en faveur de laquelle on peut invoquer le témoignage de l'expression suivante:  .†

Voici une série d'exemples, tous corroborant notre acception du sens du mot :

a.  ‡—double du passage déjà cité et se traduisant exactement comme celui-là.

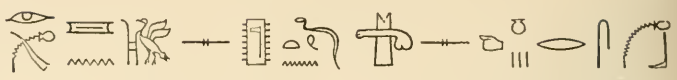
b.  "des offrandes pour l'éternité, à l'effet de rajeunir tes os, de l'étoffe sacrée, à l'effet d'orner ton corps. §

* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Troisième Série. Pl. LXV, ligne 6.

† BERGMANN, *Hier. Inschriften*, LXXV, 2. Le signe de début doit se lire .

‡ MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 42.

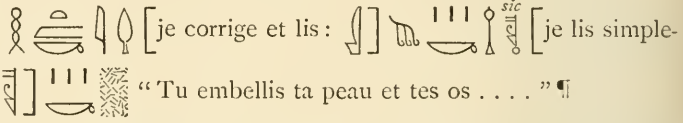
§ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, 63.

c. 

 * ("Le pharaon) celui qui fait une purification à qui l'a créé, celui qui sanctifie le corps de son engendreur, celui qui saisit les quatre vases afin de nettoyer (ses?) os." †

d. 

‡ "Des offrandes pour l'éternité qui émanent§ de l'*œil*, de l'étoffe divine fabriquée par les deux *Rechit*, de l'onguent de prix cuit dans le sanctuaire de Neith, ... || ils rajeunissent tes os, ils enveloppent tes membres."

e. 

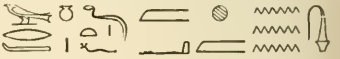
"Tu embellis ta peau et tes os . . . . " ¶

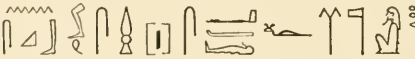
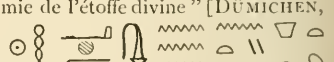
Pour tous ces exemples, à l'exception du dernier, qui malheureusement est incomplet, on peut dire que le *parallélisme des membres*

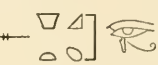
* MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, III, 51, l.

† Au lieu de , j'ai cru devoir lire  , et au lieu de  ,  .

‡ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, 376.

§ Le sens du mot  , selon BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, I, page 215, est "éteindre, étancher." Mais le mot signifie assurément aussi "émaner, couler," etc., comme dans les exemples suivants : 

 "j'oins son corps avec des écoulements de sa jambe (œil), j'habille sa momie de l'étoffe divine" [DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inscriften* I, XIII]; 

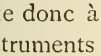
[lire ] "On t'offre des choses pour l'éternité, des émanations de l'œil saint" [DÜMICHEN, *l.l.*, XIV]; 

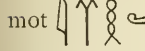
"Ton corps brille par l'émanation de l'*œil*" [DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, 64], etc.

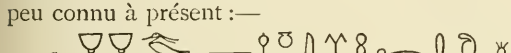
|| Voir BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, V, pages 43, 44, où l'explication donnée me paraît hasardée.

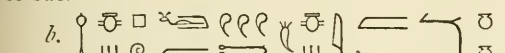
¶ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 588, texte bien corrompu et mal reproduit.

recommande le sens "os," qui du reste est exigé par le déterminatif  , d'après ce que nous avons fait voir au *paragraphe* 2.

Etymologiquement, le mot  se rapproche sans doute du verbe "opprimer, anéantir." La formation de notre mot remonte donc à l'époque primitive où l'on se servait des os comme des instruments d'attaque ou de défense. Le groupe, bien connu,  [ϩⲧⲏ, κοντός] est probablement une forme différenciée de . Comme un parallélisme, emprunté au copte, à citer à cette occasion, je renvoie au thébain ϩϥϩϵ qui signifie à la fois *tibia* et *gladius*.

§ 4. Aux textes des basses époques, on rencontre quelquefois un mot  et varr., que le Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique semble ignorer. Voici une petite série de spécimens de l'emploi de ce mot, peu connu à présent :—

a.  "Les mamelles de la vache divine sont remplies de lait; ta Sainteté en avale le suc." *

b.  "C'est du lait qui sort de tes membres, du suc dégusté par ton enfant mâle." †

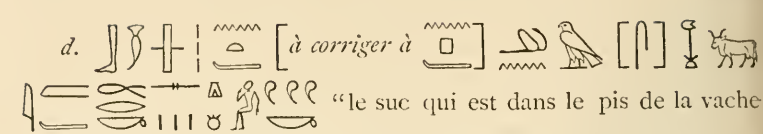
c.  "le suc de l'arrière-train ‡ de la vache *Secha-Hor*, qu'avale (suce) le petit garçon dans son nid." §

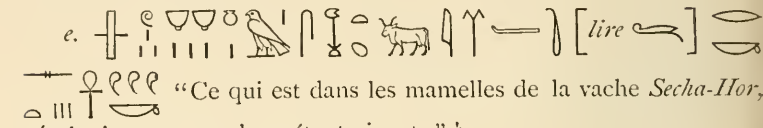
* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série. I, 27, 1 et II, page 85.

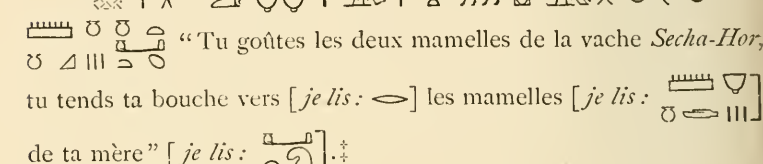
† MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, II, 37.

‡ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 67.

§ M. LORET [*Recueil*, XVIII, page 177] semble regarder  de cet exemple comme identique de sens à "aîne, pis." Mais signifiant partout ailleurs "derrière, arrière-train," je ne puis admettre cette thèse. Il me semble que l'emploi de de notre exemple—comme pour d'autres analogues à celui-là—est une manière de "transcrire" la notion un peu vulgaire de "aine." Le langage se sert bien souvent de synonymes moins *expressifs* pour désigner ce qui est censé un peu grossier ou vulgaire.

d.  "le suc qui est dans le pis de la vache *Secha-Hor*, régale-t'en, en rajeunissant tes membres." *

e.  "Ce qui est dans les mamelles de la vache *Secha-Hor*, régale-t'en, tes membres étant vivants." †

f.  "Tu goûtes les deux mamelles de la vache *Secha-Hor*, tu tends ta bouche vers [*je lis :*] les mamelles [*je lis :*] de ta mère" [*je lis :* ]. ‡

La façon dont, dans ces exemples, le mot *ȧmeḥ* s'écrit — déterminé de  ou de  ou de  — indique que le sens en a rapport au goût, aux organes de la mastication. Au point de vue idéographique, notre traduction "avaler, se régaler de, goûter, sucer," du groupe *ȧmeḥ* est donc parfaitement autorisée. Il faut reconnaître que le contexte des passages cités aussi corrobore notre acception à cet égard.

En cherchant au dictionnaire copte l'équivalent de  , nous pensons qu'on pourrait le retrouver en ou  ,

* DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *ibid.*, page 367. Une variante de sens de ce passage se voit BÉNÉDITE, *Philæ*, page 85 :  [faute pour ], d'où il résulte que  est synonyme de .

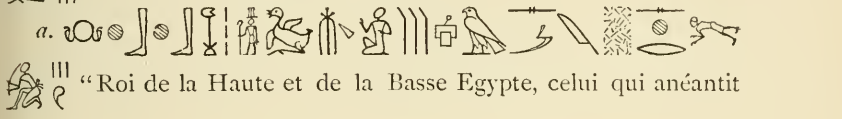
† DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 453.

‡ BÉNÉDITE, *Philæ*, page 100.

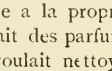
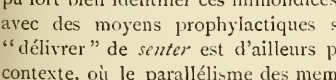
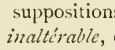
§ Le déterminatif de  de l'exemple *d*, est sans doute une faute pour  .

mot bohaïrique signifiant, suivant Peyron, *vi capere, occupare*, etc.* Il est d'ailleurs fort possible que ⲁⲣⲣⲁϩⲓ dérive de ⲣⲟⲩϩ, de même que le verbe ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ dérive de ⲟⲩⲱⲛ *aperire*, par suite de la soudure à la racine de la caractéristique ⲁ de l'impératif, l'origine de ⲁ s'étant pour ainsi dire oubliée.

§ 5. Un autre verbe ayant le sens de "avaler, goûter," etc., dont l'existence est également ignorée par le Dictionnaire, c'est celui de  . En voici quelques spécimens :—

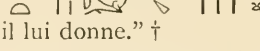
a. 

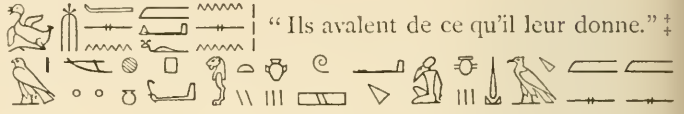
"Roi de la Haute et de la Basse Egypte, celui qui anéantit

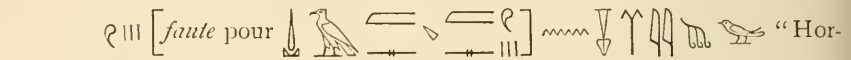
* La différence de sens qu'il paraît y avoir entre  et ⲁⲣⲣⲁϩⲓ, ne fait aucun obstacle absolu au rapprochement proposé. Une action s'appelle de différentes façons, suivant le "Moment" de cette action qu'on souligne particulièrement. C'est ainsi qu'un mot qui signifie *rire* peut telle fois se traduire *pleurer*, juste comme si la vieille thèse, "lucus a non lucendo," était étymologiquement autorisée. Dans ces circonstances, je trouve parfaitement ridicule l'essai fait par un commençant de vouloir rectifier ma traduction [PIEHL, Seconde Série, II, p. 18], "Le grand siège du Soleil est délivré du mal" de l'expression  , qu'il veut rendre lui : "La grande place de Ra est *encensée* (parfumée) contre le mal," tout en ajoutant : "C'est-à-dire que l'on y a brûlé les parfums dont la fumée a la proprieté d'éloigner les génies contraires."—La raison de ce que l'on brûlait des parfums à l'intérieur des temples était d'origine purement *matérielle:* on voulait nettoyer ce qui avait été sali, souillé d'une manière ou d'une autre ; on poursuivait donc par là un but de propreté et de salubrité, chose d'autant plus naturelle que, par exemple, les sacrifices de certaines bêtes, etc., devaient laisser des traces de malpropreté et causer des odeurs funestes, dans la chaleur qui régnait partout. Plus tard, on a pu fort bien identifier ces immondices à des êtres surnaturels qu'il fallait combattre avec des moyens prophylactiques sous forme d'encens, etc. La traduction "délivrer" de *senter* est d'ailleurs prouvée, pour notre passage de texte, par le contexte, où le parallélisme des membres nous dévoile la présence de synonymes comme "écarter," "nettoyer," etc. La quasi-critique à laquelle nous avons été exposé, quand nous avons traduit  "délivrer," représente un essai d'accréditer *les traductions littérales*, au sujet desquelles nous avons dit [Seconde Série, II, page 52, note 1]: "La méthode qui s'applique à cette sorte de traductions, part de l'une des deux suppositions éminemment naïves, ou que chaque mot aurait *un sens défini et inaltérable*, ou bien que le sens, historiquement originaire, fournirait nécessairement l'explication de chaque énigme de sens. A-t-on besoin de réfuter, au XIX^e^ siècle, de pareilles puérilités !"

des milliers, seigneur, celui qui broie des myriades, *Sa-Hor* qui immole les rebelles, et qui fait tomber ses ennemis." *

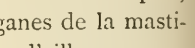
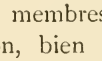
b.  "Le cycle divin, il mange de ce qu'il lui donne." †

c.  "Ils avalent de ce qu'il leur donne." ‡

d. 

 "Hormerti, qui immole les cœurs *ḥāti*, qui croque les cœurs *ab*, qui avale les foies des compagnons de Set." §

Le déterminatif  , qu'a le mot *t'ames* de ces exemples, montre que le sens en désigne une activité des organes de la mastication. Le parallélisme des membres corrobore, d'ailleurs, pour l'exemple *d*, cette supposition, bien que le sens de "détruire, maltraiter," sur la foi de l'exemple *a*, paraît être l'originaire.

C'est du copte ϭⲟⲙϩ, ϫⲟⲙϩ, *vis*, *violentia*, *injuria*, que nous serions tenté de rapprocher le mot hiéroglyphique  et var. L'échange de *m* contre *n* qui se serait produit dans ce cas, n'est point plus exceptionel que celui des mêmes lettres pour l'équivalent copte de l'ancien  , équivalent qui en thébain se lit ϭⲛⲉ, en bohaïrique ϫⲉⲛⲛ.

§ 6. La lecture du groupe  n'a pas été prouvée jusqu'ici, malgré l'habitude qu'ont plusieurs egyptologues de la transcrire tout bonnement *sm3 wt*. Cette transcription, proposée [*Zeitschrift*, XXIX, page 58] par M. ERMAN, nous l'avions démontrée impossible, dans un article antérieur des *Proceedings*.‖ La seule raison invoquée par notre confrère de Berlin, j'entends la prétendue transcription

* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série, I, Pl. CX, ligne 1.— Je corrige maintenant la traduction donnée, *l.l.*, II, page 76, dans l'espoir qu'on ne me blâmera pas d'une faute que j'ai été le premier à signaler.

† DE ROUGÉ, *Edfou*, Pl. CXXXIV = DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 520.

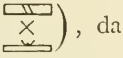
‡ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 472.

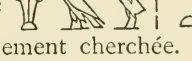
§ DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 575. Pour le sens "foie" du groupe  , voir LEFÉBURE dans *Sphinx*, II, p. 84.

‖ XIII, page 586 : *Notes de Philologie égyptienne*, § 49.

 , d'un point d'un texte hiératique, s'est montrée nulle, puisque le passage en question, au lieu du signe  , contient le signe  , ce qui nécessite un rapprochement du titre bien connu  . Dans ces circonstances, nous pouvons nettement affirmer que la lecture du groupe  , à présent, est absolument inconnue.

En essayant de dissiper l'obscurité qui règne sur ce point de notre science, il nous faut faire nos excuses pour le laconisme de cet article, laconisme qui est forcé, d'autres occupations nous empêchant de donner à nos remarques le développement que comporte sans doute la matière.

Tout le monde connaît le titre  qui surtout est fréquent à partir de la XVIII^e^ dynastie.* Dans l'ouvrage cité, M. MEYER dit ceci : "Dagegen ist sie (= die Gruppe ) fast immer m *necht* 'die Macht, Stärke,' und *peseš*  , das nur die Bedeutung "Schutz, sich schützend ausbreiten, beschirmen" (daher öfter mit dem Flügel determinirt) haben kann, verbunden. Das  *neb* in der Gruppe kann daher nicht 'Herr' bedeuten, sondern muss, wenn es überhaupt einen Sinn hat, als 'gesammt, alle' gefasst werden." † C'est justement la thèse combattue ici par M. MEYER que je voudrais soutenir. ‡

C'est une variante de l'ethnique  qui nous a fourni la lecture si longtemps vainement cherchée. Cette variante se voit à la ligne 4 de la stèle historique de Ptolémée, fils de Lagos,§ où nous rencontrons le groupe que voici  qui

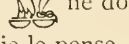
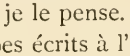
* *Cfr.* les exemples du titre en question, communiqués dans l'ouvrage, très intéressant, publié par ED. MEYER, *Set-Typhon. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie.* Leipzig, 1875.

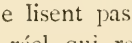
† MEYER, *loc. cit.*, page 34.

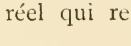
‡ L'avis que, il y a 17 ans, j'ai énoncé à savoir que le titre  se lirait *peseš*, je le retracte maintenant comme inexact [PIEHL, *Petites Etudes Egyptologiques*, 1881, page 9].

§ Publiée par BRUGSCH dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1871, pages 1–13, et par MARIETTE, *Monumens divers*, Pl. 14.

sans doute se transcrit *ḥau-nebu*.* Maintenant, comme il est connu, que le titre  a pour variante la forme  ,† il est évident que cette dernière se lisant *nebui*,‡ le premier doit également se lire *nebui*.

Ces observations montrant que certains groupes, composés de  et un autre signe superposé, se lisent *neb*, on peut se demander si le titre  ne doit pas se lire suivant le même principe. Pour ma part, je le pense. Il est incontestable qu'il y a un grand nombre de groupes écrits à l'aide du signe et un autre signe superposé, qui ne se lisent pas *neb*, mais alors cet *autre signe* représente un diadème réel qui repose naturellement sur le fond d'un panier, comme par exemple  ,  , etc. Je crois donc que  est à lire *nebti*, c'est-à-dire qu'il est une variante de sens du groupe fréquent  ,§ dont les variantes  ,‖  ,¶ à cette occasion, méritent particulièrement d'être signalées. L'identification que nous venons de proposer est prouvée par des exemples comme ceux-ci :—

 ** "Les deux diadèmes brillant sur la tête"—d'un côté, et

 †† "Les deux diadèmes étincelant sur ta tête"—de l'autre.

En étudiant de près les textes des basses époques auxquelles ces exemples ont été empruntés, nous trouvons que  s'y emploie de

* Je lis *ḥau-nebu*, non pas *ḥau-nebui*, l'exemple datant des basses époques où la différence entre le duel et le pluriel paraît s'être effacée, en sorte que tous les duels *formels* alors équivalent à des pluriels. Pour cette particularité de la grammaire égyptienne, voir PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série, II, page 54, n. 6.

† MEYER, *Set-Typhon*, page 35.

‡ *Cfr.* le nom propre d'homme  [LIEBLEIN, *Dict. de noms*, No. 1678].

§ DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, Pl. CX.

‖ PIEHL, Seconde Série, Pl. IV, ligne 2.

¶ PIEHL, Seconde Série, Pl. XXXVII, ligne 5.

** BERGMANN, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, Pl. XXX, ligne 14.

†† DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 47.

deux manières distinctes : tantôt le groupe est indépendant, tantôt il sert d'épithète à un nom de roi ou de divinité. Dans le premier cas, il faut le traduire simplement "les deux diadèmes," mais doit-on traduire de la même façon pour le second? Par exemple la déesse Hathor s'appelant  , on pourrait être tenté de rendre ("la grande, maîtresse d'Anit,) maître des deux diadèmes," comme on le fait très souvent ; quoique, à mon avis, "les deux diadèmes" pût sans doute aussi se défendre.

Pour le titre  du protocole royale, je pense donc qu'on doit le lire *nebti* et le traduire ou "les deux diadèmes" ou "celui qui porte le diadème" suivant qu'on croit à la présence d'un duel, ou à celle d'un nom d'agent en  ayant une physionomie selon la règle découverte par nous en 1879.* L'identification du roi de l'Egypte avec les deux couronnes † qu'il porte, n'est guère plus hardie que son identification avec Horus et Set, les deux maîtres  qui étaient, eux aussi,  par suite de leur rôle de seigneurs de l'Egypte.

Note Additionnelle.

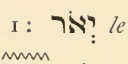
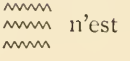
En revisant les épreuves de ce mémoire, il me revient à l'esprit que, lors de la composition du second volume (le commentaire) de ma *Seconde Série*, j'ai lu le groupe  *bet*, lecture qui est peut-être la seule vraie. A l'occasion de cette lecture, j'ai évidemment pensé au groupe  et varr., désignation fréquente du ciel. Consulter, à ce sujet, Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, V, p. 414, et la forme  , *passim*.

* *Zeitschrift*, XVII, pages 145–148.

† En français, le mot "couronne" peut s'employer dans le sens de "puissance royale ou impériale," selon Littré. Nous rencontrons ici une analogie de l'usage des égyptiens de désigner Pharaon par le titre "les deux couronnes."

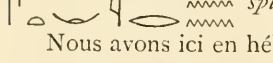
MOTS ÉGYPTIENS DANS LA BIBLE.

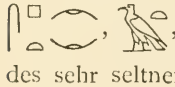
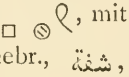
Par J. Lieblein.

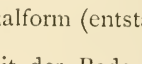
Gen. xli, 1 : יְאֹר *le Nil*, en égyptien  *eŭr*, *le Nil*.  n'est qu'une forme du même mot avec un 𓄡 intercalé.

Gen. xli, 2 : אָחוּ *les roseaux*, en égyptien  *akhakh*, *ce qui verdoie*.

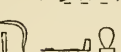
 est une forme redoublée de  *akh*, en pluriel  *akhu*.

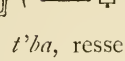
Gen. xli, 3 : שְׂפַת הַיְאֹר *la lèvre ou le bord du Nil*, en égyptien  *spt eur*, *la lèvre* ou *le bord du Nil*.

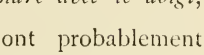
Nous avons ici en hébreu et en égyptien deux mots dont le son et le sens sont identiques ; et ce, qui est encore plus remarquable, non seulement le sens primaire : *la lèvre*, est identique, mais aussi le sens secondaire : *le bord*. Dans son Dictionnaire M. Brugsch dit :  , gen. fem. Aeltere Dualform (entstanden aus *sop-ti*) des sehr seltnen Singularis  , mit der Bedeutung von *Lippe*, verwandt mit dem arab.-hebr., שְׂפָה *labium ; cfr.* kopt. ⲥⲡⲟⲧⲟ.

L'identité des deux mots שָׂפָה et  est parfaite. Ils sont tous les deux du genre féminin, ils ont le même son et les mêmes significations : *lèvre* et *bord ;* si l'identité n'est pas fortuite, ce qui n'est pas bien vraisemblable, elle témoigne une parenté d'origine entre les langues sémitiques et khamites.*

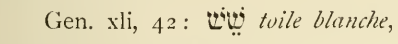
* *Cfr.* Benfey : *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamme.*

Gen. xli, 42 : טַבַּעַת, *anneau*, en égyptien peut-être  *t'ba, doigt* et  *t'ba, sceau, cachet.*

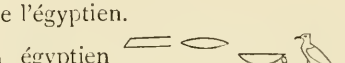
 *t'ba*, ressemble plus à צָבַע *prendre avec le doigt*, et à אֶצְבַּע, *le doigt ;* mais צָבַע et טָבַע sont probablement proches parents.*

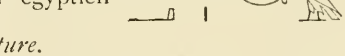
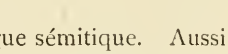
Gen. xli, 42 : שֵׁשׁ *toile blanche*, en égyptien  *shes, étoffe fine* et *précieuse.*

Le mot hébreu est un emprunt de l'égyptien.

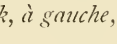
Gen. xli, 43 : מֶרְכָּבָה *char*, en égyptien  *markabuta, char, voiture.*

Ici le mot égyptien est emprunté d'une langue sémitique. Aussi le char comme le cheval sont-ils importés, probablement par les Hyksos, de l'Asie en Égypte.

Gen. xli, 43 : אַבְרֵךְ en égyptien  *abrek, à gauche, toi ! allez à gauche !*

 *ab, la gauche ;* *rk, pour toi*, ou l'impératif  *toi : va à gauche, toi !* Le précurseur devant la voiture de Joseph devait ouvrir le chemin dans la foule des rues en criant : à gauche ! La Septante semble avoir compris l'endroit dans ce sens ; car elle traduit : ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κήρυξ. De même la traduction copte qui donne : ⲁ ⲡⲓⲕⲏⲣⲓⲝ ⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ. Aussi aujourd'hui dans les rues du Caire les précurseurs qui courent devant les voitures des grands personnages crient en arabe : *Shimalak, to thy left*, ou *Yemeenak, to thy right*, pour faire passer la voiture dans la foule.† Cette explication s'accorde très-bien, il me semble, avec le contexte : après que Pharaon avait donné son second char à Joseph, il lui conceda la prérogative des grands-seigneurs d'avoir des précurseurs devant son char.

Le Page Renouf, notre regretté président, a expliqué le mot *Abrek* autrement.‡ Il y voit une phrase contenant trois mots :

* *Cfr.* Brugsch, *Dictionnaire hiér.*, p. 1678, où nous lisons :  *le doigt*, صبع, אֶצְבַּע, *digitus.*

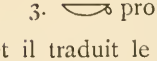
† Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, I, 209.

‡ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XI, 5–8.

1.  *ab*, "thirst, want, desire, longing, love."

2.  (strictly "mouth") "word, command."

3.  pronom possessif: *ton;*

et il traduit le tout  par: "thy commandment is the object of our desire."

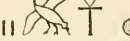
Mais c'est une explication que je ne peux pas adopter; je la trouve un peu artificielle.

Je ne peux pas non plus épouser l'opinion de M. Harkavy qui dans *Abrek* voit les mots égyptiens  ou  "le premier des savants," ou, pour conserver le *b*,  "pur savant, saint savant."* Le sens convient assez bien, mais le son ne concorde pas.

Il est inutile de répéter toutes les opinions et explications que l'on a émises sur le mot *Abrek*. Celle que j'ai donnée plus haut: "allez à gauche!" est la seule probable.

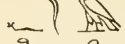
Gen. xli, 45: צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ *Zofnat-Paneakh*, en égyptien 

 *t'fnt pankh, celui qui donne la nourriture de la vie.*

 *t'fa, aliment, approvisionnement.*

 *t'fa, magasin, grenier.*

 *t'fn, qui donne la nourriture; Erzeuger,* auch: *das Erzeugte, Kind.*†

 *d'fnt,*  *celui qui donne la nourriture.* Le suffixe  indique l'adjectif‡ ou la personne d'agent.§ Brugsch cite notre mot, mais dans le sens de "Statue eines Vorfahren, oder des Erzeugers."‖ Cependant le sens propre doit être: "la personne

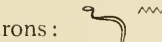
* *Journal Asiatique*, l'année 1870.

† Brugsch, *Dict. hiérogl., Suppl.*, p. 1384.

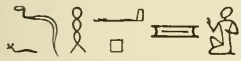
‡ Piehl et Naville dans *Zeitschrift f. äg. Spr.*, 1879, p. 143, et 1880, p. 24.

§ Brugsch, *Hieroglyphische Grammatik*, p. 5, 6: Die Silbe , welche einer Reihe von Wörtern angehängt wird und ihnen dann den Sinn giebt: "Bewohner eines Ortes oder einer Stadt, ein Handwerk übend," und allgemein: "seiend in einem Zustande, den das vorhergehende Verb anzeigt."

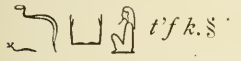
‖ Brugsch, *Hier. Wö t. Suppl.*, p. 1384.

qui a, possède, donne la nourriture"; combiné avec le mot  qui sans aucun doute constitue la dernière partie de notre phrase, nous aurons:  *t'fnt pankh*, "la personne qui possède ou donne la nourriture de la vie," ce qui parfaitement donne le son * et le sens de צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ comme titre honorifique attribué à Joseph par Pharaon.

D'ailleurs le mot  *t'fa*, se trouve dans plusieurs noms propres composés:

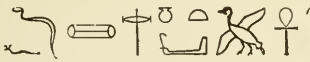
 *t'fa hap*, "le Nil est la nourriture." †

 *t'fa stn.* ‡

 *t'f k.* §

Trois rois au moins de la XIV^e^ dynastie portent des noms composés avec le mot  *t'fa*, p. exp.  . ‖

Aussi M. Harkavy a vu ici le mot  ; il identifie les mots hébreux avec

 , *t'f nt pankh*,

"nourriture, sauveur de la vie."

Quant au premier et au dernier mot il a touché juste, mais  n'a rien ici à faire, et par conséquent sa traduction tombe à cet égard.

Plusieurs identifications plus ou moins invraisemblables sont ici à noter.

Brugsch transcrit *Zofnat-Paneakh* par l'égyptien

Za-p-ŭ-nt-p-a-anch,

* L' *i* de est tombé dans la prononciation.

† Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms*, No. 451.

‡ Lieblein, *ibid.*, No. 55.

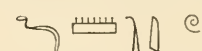
§ Lieblein, *ibid.*, No. 14.

‖ E. Brugsch et U. Bouriant, *Le livre des rois*, Nos. 224, 226 et 229.

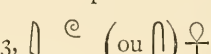
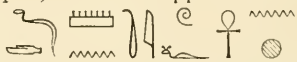
"Landpfleger des Bezirkes von der Stätte des Lebens," c'est-à-dire: "Landpfleger des sethroitischen Gaues."*

Mais cette identification me semble peu probable; sans parler des difficultés phonétiques, le titre de gouverneur d'un seul nome ne pourrait pas convenablement être donné à Joseph.

M. Krall a proposé cette identification :

 , *t'd mnt eŭfankh*,†

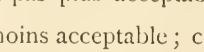
צ פנת פענח

Les noms composés de ces trois parties: 1,  , 2, le nom d'un dieu, 3,  sont très frequents depuis la fin de la XX^{e} dynastie jusqu'aux derniers temps de l'émpire égyptien; on n'a qu'à feuilleter mon Dictionnaire de noms pour s'en convaincre. Mais dans les temps de Joseph, qui probablement vivait sous les Hyksos, ils n'étaient nullement en usage. C'est donc, déjà à cause de celà, à présumer que Joseph n'ait pas pu porter ce nom. Je reviendrai à cette question ci-après; pour le moment je ferai observer que l'explication de M. Krall ne tient pas contre la moindre critique; car les rapprochements phonétiques sont inadmissibles, et  serait un nom tout-à-fait hors de propos, comme il n'explique rien quant-à la situation spéciale de Joseph.

M. le professeur Steindorff a retouché le travail de M. Krall et corrigeant  en  , il a cherché établir le parallélisme de

 *t'd p-nutr eufankh*, et de‡

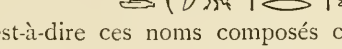
Zofnat Paneakh;

mais en cela il n'a pas été bien heureux, il me semble, et son explication n'est pas plus acceptable que celle de M. Krall; elle est au contraire moins acceptable; car  , *t'd mnt*

* Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 248, note.

† *Verhandlungen der VII Intern. Orient. Congr. Aegypt.-afrik. Section*, p. 110.

‡ *Zeitschrift für äg. Spr. und Alterth.*, 1889, p. 41.

ĕŭfankh, était au moins un nom actuellement en usage depuis la fin de la XX^e^ dynastie, tandisque le nom  ne se trouve nulle part : c'est-à-dire ces noms composés comportent, il semble, le nom spécial d'un dieu, mais pas la notion pure de dieu. D'ailleurs il n'est pas possible de voir dans צפנת פענח une transcription regulière de  , *t'd pnŭtr eŭfankh*, si l'on ne veut pas nier toutes les règles phonétiques et ouvrir la porte à tous les phantasmes.

Il est d'autant plus nécessaire de protester contre l'explication de M. Steindorff qu'on lui a donné une trop grande portée. Nous avons vu plus haut que les noms propres composès de cette manière n'ont commencé d'être en usage qu'avec la fin de la XX^e^ dynastie, c'est-à-dire environ 900 a. J.-C. Mais si Joseph a reçu un nom qui n'était pas connu avant l'an 900 a. J.-C., il s'ensuivrait avec nécessité que le texte biblique qui nous raconte cette histoire n'ait pas pu être écrit avant l'époque d'environ l'an 900 a. J.-C. C'est aussi, de fait, le résultat que M. Steindorff a tiré de son explication et qui a été corroboré par l'autorité de Paul de Lagarde. Ce savant distinqué dit, après avoir relaté et adopté l'interprétation, proposée par M. Steindorff : "So haben wir in ihnen (diesen Namen) ein überaus wichtiges Hülfsmittel zur Datirung von Genesis xli, 45, wie des ersten Elohisten überhaupt."* Et M. Steindorff dit : "Eigennamen der besprochenen Form vermag ich zuerst im Anfange der XXII Dynastie nachzuweisen, häufig werden sie erst in saïtischer Zeit. Da auch die Namen *Ns-nt* und *Petepre* derselben Epoche angehören,† so haben wir in ihnen ein überaus wichtiges Hülfsmittel zur Datirung von Genesis xli, 45, wie des Elohisten überhaupt."‡

Ah, quelle science ! D'une interprétation aussi douteuse ou plutôt, comme je le crois, fautive, puisqu'il y en a une plus probable—tirer d'une telle interprétation une conclusion si importante, c'est compromettre la science et plus particulièrement l'école de Wellhausen qui a mieux mérité de ses adhérents.

J'insiste donc jusqu'à nouvel ordre sur l'interprétation donnée

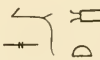
* *Göttinger Gelehrte Nachrichten*, 1889, p. 320.

† Il y a probablement ici une erreur ; nous verrons plus tard que les noms *Asnat* et *Potiphar* se laissent expliquer autrement et que l'on n'en peut rien conclure quant au temps.

‡ *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, B. XXVII, p. 42.

plus haut:  *t'f-nt-pankh*, "la personne qui possède ou donne la nourriture de la vie," est par le son et par le sens un équivalent exacte et probable de l'hébreu צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, et la forme avec l'article masculin  nous révèle, comme le nom de ville Ra'amses,* le temps de la rédaction du texte de l'Elohiste; et, d'après les recherches que j'ai faites ailleurs, ce temps tombe sous le règne de Ramsès II, c'est-à-dire, selon moi, au douzième siècle a. J.-C.

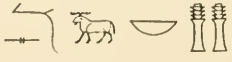
Gen., xli, 45: אָסְנַת *Asnat*, en égyptien  *Snat*, nom de femme, qui se trouve partout sur les monuments de la bonne époque, depuis la XI^e^ jusqu'à la XVIII^e^ dynastie inclusivement.† Avec  prosthétique qui était facultatif *Snat* a pu prendre la forme *Asnat*.

Asnat a été identifié avec  , *Nes-neit* ou *Sneit*,‡ qui à l'aide de l' *A* prosthétique aurait pu prendre la forme *Asneit*. Mais cette identification n'est pas bien probable; du moins, il n'est pas permis d'en tirer aucune conclusion quant au temps de la rédaction du texte biblique; car l'identité d'*Asnat* avec  est beaucoup plus vraisemblable.

Gen. xli, 45: *Potifera* et *Potifar*§ sont généralement regardés comme identiques. Or, Potifera a été rapproché de  , ainsi comme appartenant au groupe des noms composés de  . Cependant je veux faire observer que *Potifar* pourrait très bien être assimilé à  *pt-bar*, nom d'un homme qui vivait sous les Hyksos et qui était chef des constructions du dieu Ammon.‖ Si dans  *pt-bar*, dont la dernière partie probable-

* Gen. xlvii, 11, Exode i, 11.

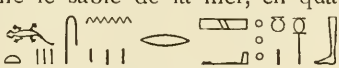
† *Cfr.* Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 248.

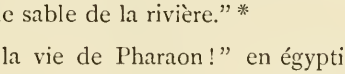
‡ *Cfr.*  *Nes-Bended*, que les Grecs ont transcrit *Smendès*.

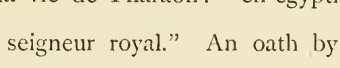
§ Gen. xxxix, 1.

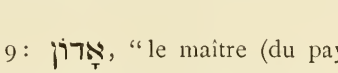
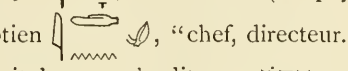
‖ Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, No. 553.

ment nous donne le nom du dieu Baal, la première partie  *pt*, joue le même rôle que  *pd*, et que par conséquent les noms composés de remontent aux temps de Hyksos, je ne sais pas. Il y a des doutes ici que pour le moment je ne peux pas lever entièrement. Mais en tout cas il est bien certain que les noms composés de *t'd*, ... ,  *ns*, ... , et *pd*, ... , ne peuvent être employés comme argument chronologique quant à la rédaction du texte biblique.

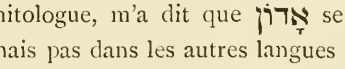
Gen., xli, 49: "Comme le sable de la mer, en quantité extraordinaire," en egyptien:  , "ils sont plus nombreux que le sable de la rivière." *

Gen. xlii, 15: "Par la vie de Pharaon!" en égyptien  , "la vie du seigneur royal." An oath by the king's life, dit Goodwin.†

Gen. xlii, 30, et xlv, 9: אֲדוֹן, "le maître (du pays" ou "de toute l'Egypte"), en égyptien  , "chef, directeur."

M. Seippel, notre sémitologue, m'a dit que אֲדוֹן se trouve en hébreu et en phénicien, mais pas dans les autres langues sémitiques, et que sa dérivation sémitique n'est pas certaine; il pourraît donc très bien être un mot égyptien. Je retrouve avec Brugsch ce mot dans  *adn*, qui a le même son et signifie "chef, directeur," titre qui a été porté par les plus hauts fonctionnaires, p. ex. Horembib qui avant de monter sur le trône était qualifié  , "Adon de tout le pays." ‡

Gen. xlv, 8: אָב, "père (auprès de Pharaon)."

Peut être nous n'avons pas ici le mot hébreu אָב, *père*, mais le mot égyptien  *ab*, *inspecteur*, de sorte que notre texte biblique ne qualifie pas Joseph *le père*, mais *l'inspecteur*, *l'homme d'affaires de Pharaon*. §

* Os. von Lemm, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, p. 75, 21.

† *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, 1874, p. 62; *cfr.* Chabas, *Mélanges*, III, 1, p. 80.

‡ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 252.

§ Brugsch, *Dictionnaire*, Suppl., p. 38.

Gen. xlvii, 31 : מִטָּה, "(le chevet) du lit."

Probablement il faut lire מַטֶּה, *bâton* et traduire tout le verset (Genesis xlvii, 31) ainsi : "Et il dit : Jure-le moi ! Et il le lui jura. Et Israël s'inclina sur *la tête du bâton*." Et, de fait, la Septante porte : *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου*, "sur la tête du bâton." En Égypte on jurait en "se plaçant sur la tête du bâton," .* Déjà Chabas, il y a long temps, a fait le parallèle de ce groupe hiéroglyphique et de notre expression biblique.† L'opinion de Chabas ne doit pas tomber dans l'oubli.

Gen. l, 3 : "Et les Égyptiens en firent le deuil soixante et dix jours."

En Egypte il y avait toujours un intervalle de 70 jours entre la mort et l'enterrement.

Gen. l, 22 et 26 : Joseph mourut, âgé de cent dix ans."

Dans les textes égyptiens ou trouve souvent le souhait de vivre cent dix ans, p. ea. , "Tu vivras cent dix ans sur la terre."‡ C'était, d'après l'opinion des Egyptiens, l'âge le plus avancé à qui il était possible d'atteindre.

CHRISTIANIA, *le 7 Mai*, 1898.

* *Papyrus Abbott*, v. 7.

† Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, T. 1. p. 80, et son mémoire : *Sur l'usage des bâtons de main*, dans *Annales du Musée Guimet*, T. 1, p. 42.

‡ *Papyrus Anastasia*, III, pl. 4, l. 8 et 9.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 7th June, 1898, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Sir H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P., LL.D., etc. : "On Ancient Picture Writing."

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OF

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OF

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VOL. XX. TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, June 7th, 1898.

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Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., November, 1897.
(p. 286.)

PLATE I.

GYÜL TEPÉ TEXT.

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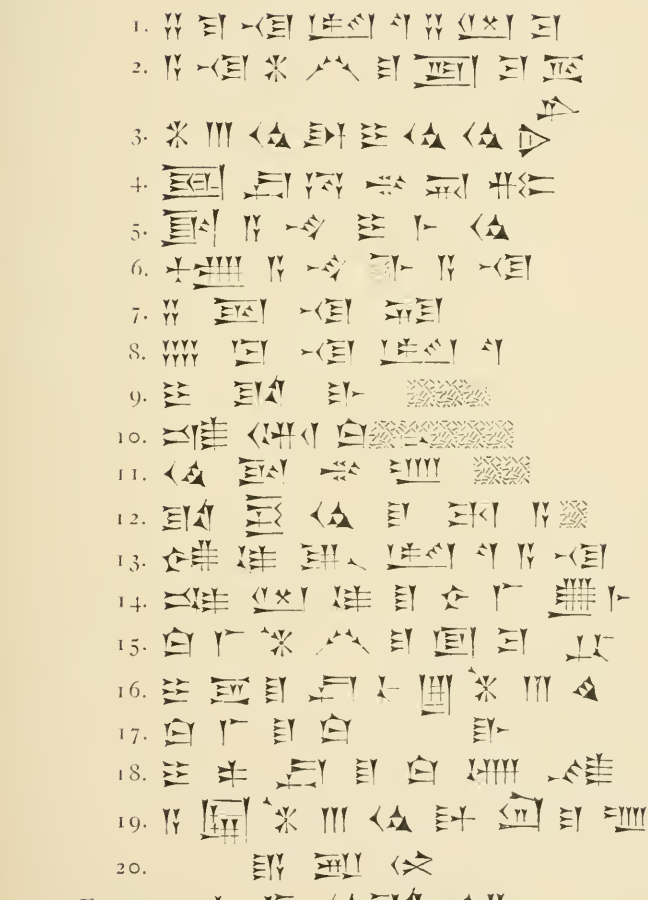
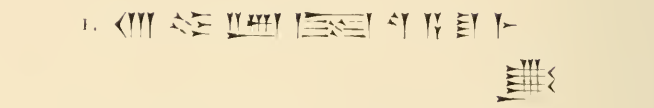
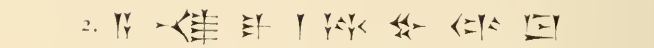
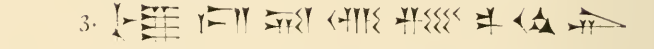
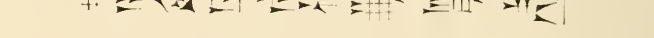
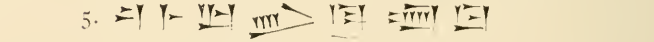
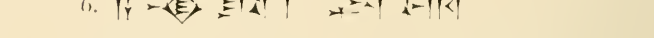
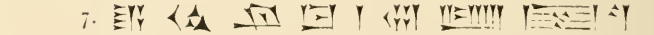
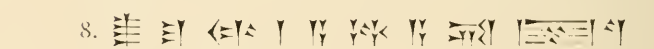
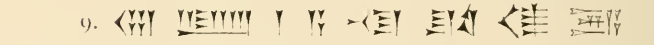


PLATE II.

TABLET BROUGHT BY PROF. W. M. RAMSAY FROM KAISARÍYEH.

R. II.

Obverse.

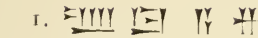
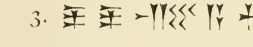
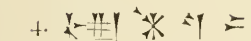
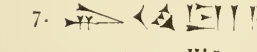
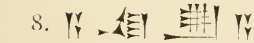
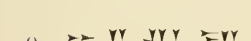
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Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., November, 1897.
(p. 289.)

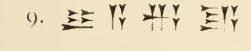
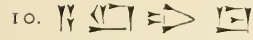
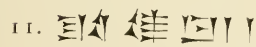
PLATE III.

TABLET BROUGHT BY PROF. W. M. RAMSAY FROM KAISARÎYEH.

Reverse.

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2. 
3. 
4. 
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6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 

Edge:

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

PROCEEDINGS

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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

Fifth Meeting, 7th June, 1898.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., ETC., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A. :—Books for Bible Students. Edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. Studies in Comparative Religion. London. 8vo. 1898.

From the Author, George St. Clair, Esq. :—Creation Records discovered in Egypt. [Studies in the Book of the Dead.] London. 8vo. 1898.

From the Publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co. :—The Holy Land in Geography and in History. Vol. I. Geography. (With numerous maps and plates.) New York. 8vo. 1897.

From the Author, P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. :—Gli Hethei-pelasgi in Italia, Gl' Itali della Storia. Sommario.

Ditto, ditto, ditto. Enotri-Itali. *Civilta Cattolica.* 1898. 8vo.

From the Author, Sir Henry H. Howorth :—The Early History of Babylonia. II. The Rulers of Shirpurla or Lagash. *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1898. 8vo.

From the Author, Dr. J. Hall Gladstone :—The Metals used by the Great Nations of Antiquity (Lecture, Roy. Inst.). *Nature*, April 21, 1898.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 3rd May, 1898 :—

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, The Palace, Ely.

Wynne E. Baxter, LL.D., J.P., 170, Church Street, Stoke Newington.

Rev. George H. Box, M.A., Hebrew Master, Merchant Taylors' School.

James Chisholm, 16, Knowe Terrace, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Charles Marston, Highfields, Wolverhampton.

Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., etc., 6, Palace Mansions, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

A Paper by Sir H. H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S., etc., "On the Earliest Inscriptions from Chaldea," was read by the President.

Remarks were added by the Rev. C. J. Ball, Mr. Theo. J. Pinches, Prof. Ira M. Price, Mr. John Tuckwell, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

HERODIAN POTTERY AND THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

By E. J. PILCHER.

On the 6th April, 1897, the writer had the honour of reading a paper before this Society upon "The Date of the Siloam Inscription," in which it was pointed out that the epigraphy of this monument did not correspond with the lettering of the dated inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries B.C., but that many of the characters exhibited forms of demonstrably late date, approaching most closely to those employed upon Jewish coins at the commencement of the Christain era. It was therefore suggested that the Siloam Inscription was very probably a memorial of the time of Herod the Great.

This view has met with some criticism, but no serious attempt has been made to meet the palæographic points which were raised. It was shown that the Siloam *Aleph* and *Mem* did not appear upon Phœnician coins until a comparatively late date: and that other letters, such as the *Zain* and *Ṣade*, presented forms whose gradual differentiation from the original types could be traced by means of the inscriptions upon Jewish engraved gems, and must therefore belong to a very late period of the history of the Old Hebrew Alphabet.

	Earlier Gems.	Later Gems.	Siloam Inscription.	Bar-Cochab Coins.
Aleph ...				
Zain ...				
Ṣade ...				
Qoph ...				

Of course these observations could not be claimed as new, seeing that Prof. Socin in 1881 pointed out the identity of the Siloam *Sade* with the same letter upon the Jewish silver shekels, and that Canon Isaac Taylor had remarked upon the likeness of the *Zain* of Bar-Cochab to that of the Siloam alphabet.

It has been objected that the Siloam *Vau* and *Shin* presented forms of some antiquity; but these are precisely the letters which remained unmodified down to the latest known stage of the Old Hebrew alphabet; and it is hardly necessary to remark that an inscription must be dated by the most modern of the letters found upon it.

The two chief objections advanced against the Herodian date of the Siloam Inscription were, that we should not expect the Hebrew language to be employed at so late a period; and that the square character was believed to have entirely supplanted the Old Hebrew alphabet at that time.

With regard to language, it is sufficient to point out that the earliest known Jewish inscriptions in the square character are in the Hebrew tongue, although the matter of them is not of a specifically religious nature. One critic expressed the opinion that an official record of king Herod ought to have been in Greek, like the well known Temple Stela discovered by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, and now at Constantinople; but the writer expressly pointed out that the upper part of the tablet at Siloam had been left blank, as though it were intended to bear a bi-lingual inscription; and of course the other language would most probably have been Greek; but as it was never cut we cannot be certain.*

As regards the Old Hebrew character, it was previously shown that this was employed upon Jewish coins as late as 135 A.D., and that a lapidary inscription found at Amwas dated very probably from the fourth century of the Christian era; so that there was really nothing extraordinary in an Old Hebrew inscription being of the time of King Herod the Great. The question of the late use of the Old Hebrew alphabet, however, may now be considered to have been settled by Mr. F. C. Burkitt's discovery of a palimpsest of Aquila, in which the tetragrammaton is written in this alphabet.

* Prof. Ganneau has suggested that the blank space above Hebrew was intended for a bas-relief (*Quart. Stat. P.E.F.*, 1897, p. 306), but as the tablet had been already dressed and smoothed down, it certainly seems more likely that the intention was to incise an inscription.

Origen, in his commentary on the Psalms, informs us that the best copies of the Old Testament in his time contained the Divine Name written in Hebrew characters—not the letters which were in ordinary use, but the ancient ones. This statement has been contested, and doubts thrown upon the ability of the Christian Father to distinguish the ancient characters; and it is therefore extremely gratifying to find that the learning and correct observation of Origen have been so strikingly vindicated.

Among the mass of old manuscripts rescued by Dr. Schechter from the Genizah of the ancient Jewish synagogue at Cairo, Mr. Burkitt recognised a leaf which had originally been inscribed in Greek uncials of the 5th or 6th century A.D., but which had had a Jewish liturgical work of the 11th century written above it in square Hebrew. Dr. Schechter eventually discovered another leaf of the same work, and the two leaves have been published, and exhaustively discussed by Mr. Burkitt.* That these two leaves belonged to the well-known version of the Bible executed by Aquila in the 2nd century, there can be no doubt; for the fragments agree in every particular with the accounts of that version which have been transmitted to us. It will be remembered that Aquila was a Greek of Sinope, in Pontus, said to be related to the Emperor Hadrian. He was converted to Judaism, and became a pupil of the celebrated Rabbi Aqiba. Being dissatisfied with the existing Greek translations of the Old Testament, he undertook a fresh version characterised by its slavish adherence to the Hebrew text, every word and particle being reproduced as literally as possible. The date of this version has been variously estimated as A.D. 90, A.D. 96, A.D. 128, and A.D. 130; but the balance of probability appears to be in favour of the year 128 A.D. In the year 132 A.D. the rebellion of Bar-Cochab broke out, and we find that this Jewish leader struck a large number of silver and bronze coins bearing inscriptions in the Hebrew language and the Old Hebrew character. It has been asserted that Bar-Cochab "revived" the Old Hebrew alphabet upon his coins from antiquarian considerations. It is therefore of considerable palæographic importance to find that a manuscript of Aquila's translation has the Divine Name יהוה written in Old Hebrew letters; for this fact would go far to prove that the MSS. from which

* "Fragments of the Books of Kings, according to the translation of Aquila," by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1897).

Aquila's translation was made were in the Old Hebrew character also, and that Bar-Cochab merely employed upon his coins the alphabet which was then in common use for literary purposes.

As Mr. F. C. Burkitt says :—

"The use of the Old Hebrew character in the MSS. of Aquila's version has an important bearing on the history of writing among the Jews. Although the four letters must have been a mere ideogram to the copyist of our MS., there is not the same reason for thinking this to have been the case with Aquila himself, three centuries and a half earlier. Aquila's master is said to have been the famous Rabbi Akiba, who perished in the revolt of Bar-Cochba ; and Bar-Cochba during his brief tenure of power issued coins *with inscriptions in the Old Hebrew character.* We must not hastily assume that it had died out altogether in Aquila's day ; the present discovery tends rather to bring down the date to which the Old Hebrew alphabet continued to be used. In so doing it helps to strengthen the arguments which have been lately brought forward by Mr. Pilcher for regarding the Siloam Inscription as a work of the age of Herod." *

"These notes on the portions of text covered by the fragments of the Aquila MS. have only an indirect connexion with it. It may therefore be convenient to sum up the principal points upon which our knowledge has been directly extended by its discovery.

"In the first place it confirms the remarks of the Fathers about the use of Aquila's translation by the Jews. The MS. now at Cambridge has come from a synagogue. It was in Jewish hands in the 11th century A.D., when it was made a palimpsest, and there is no reason why we should not assume that it had remained in Jewish hands since the day it was transcribed. It also confirms the express statement of Origen and S. Jerome, as to the use of the Old Hebrew alphabet for the Tetragrammaton. The employment of this alphabet for Jewish coins within the Christian era is thus seen to be no disconnected archaism, but the use of a living national script." †

Whatever the history of the Aramaic square alphabet may have been, therefore, and whatever the date of its adoption by the Jews, it is now undeniable that the ancient national Jewish alphabet remained in use for the purpose of writing Hebrew for a considerable period after the beginning of the Christian era. There is no

* *Ibid.*, p. 16. † *Ibid.*, p. 31.

evidence that the Samaritans ever used the square alphabet: they always remained loyal to the more ancient character. And the cities of the Phœnician coast also employed their closely related form of writing to a comparatively late period.*

The object of the present paper is to direct attention to the stamps found upon some large jar handles discovered by Sir Charles Warren in January, 1869, close against the platform of Herod's Temple at Jerusalem, at the south-eastern corner of the Haram enclosure, at a depth of sixty-three feet from the present surface. Sir Charles Warren says:—

"The pottery lies about two inches thick, but it is all in fragments: however, some of the handles were found to have stamps on them, and I employed a man for some days poking into the layer for several feet on either side, and eventually got together eight of these handles; drawings were made of them and sent home at once. I supposed the jars to have been broken only a very short time after the building of the wall." †

Underneath this layer of pottery were found several broken lamps of the Græco-Phœnician period, pronounced by Sir Augustus W. Franks to be not earlier than the second century before the Christian era. ‡

These stamped vase handles, therefore, were found to overlay relics of pottery which were certainly not older than 200 B.C. Their discoverer recognised that they were deposited shortly after the building of the platform wall, that is to say about 17 B.C. Consequently the vase handles can only be assigned to the reign of the monarch who built the present platform wall, namely King Herod

* It is very frequently asserted that Matthew v, 18 proves the use of the square Hebrew in the 1st century A.D. The words used, however, are ἰῶτα and κεραία. Ἰῶτα was proverbially the smallest letter in the *Greek* alphabet. If the Evangelist had intended to refer to the Semitic letter, he would undoubtedly have called it Ιωδ, as is done in the Greek version of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. In the oldest examples of the Jewish square character, such as the Beni Hezir Inscription at Jerusalem, the *Yod* is not lesser than the *Vau;* and the *Zain* is really the smallest letter in the alphabet. In the English version κεραία is translated by "tittle"; but the tittles upon the square Hebrew characters (such as שׁ) are not earlier than the 11th century A.D. See Canon Taylor, "The Alphabet," Vol. I, p. 276.

† "The Recovery of Jerusalem." Edited by Walter Morrison, M.P. (London, 1871), p. 152.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

the Great. Some ingenious attempts have been made to get away from this conclusion. It has been suggested that the mass of pottery of which the vase handles formed part had been discovered in some ancient excavation, and then been thrown down at the foot of the platform wall. In this case, however, we should have expected the pottery to have been mixed with stones and earth from the hypothetical excavation; but this does not appear to have been the case. Another suggestion has been made that the kings of Jerusalem were collectors of ancient pottery, and that their museum had been dispersed by some iconoclastic successor, and the fragments thrown down in this place. The improbability of both these theories need hardly be insisted upon; and we are therefore brought back to the conclusion that these vase handles, and the rest of their associated pottery, really dated from the time of King Herod, and were thrown away as useless into the rubbish heap, where they remained until disinterred by Sir Charles Warren.

Six of the Ophel vase handles bore a very peculiar device, but, unfortunately, in no case is there a perfect impression. The stamps which were used appear to have been about 1¼ inch long by ⅝ inch wide. In the centre is a winged object, above which can be traced the letters למלך in the Old Hebrew character, while underneath are other letters which vary in each specimen. These stamps have been hastily and carelessly impressed upon the wet clay, and in two cases the impressions are quite illegible.

The winged object in the centre of the stamp appears to be a debased example of the well known winged figure which occurs upon Assyrian sculptures hovering over the king, and which is usually identified with the god Assur. This winged figure was imitated upon the Persian sculptures and engraved gems, and at a still later period it appears upon Phœnician, and even Jewish seals such as that shown in Taf. III, fig. 12, of Dr. M. A. Levy's "Siegel und Gemmen." The device upon the Ophel jar handles, however shows no trace of a human form. But this is not an isolated case, for there are other instances in which the human figure is wanting, and the gradual degradation of the Assyrian deity to a mere winged device may be traced by means of the engraved gems.

Mr. George Armstrong, the Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, with his never failing courtesy, has kindly furnished the author

PLATE I.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

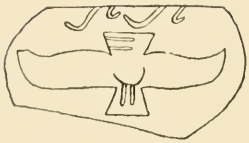


FIG. 3. (No. 67.)



FIG. 4. (No. 68.)

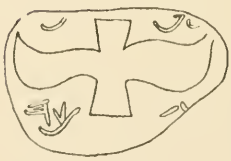


FIG. 5. (No. 69.)



FIG. 6. (No. 70.)

STAMPS UPON HANDLES OF HERODIAN POTTERY.

with casts of the Ophel handles, and drawings are accordingly reproduced in

PLATE I.—STAMPS UPON HANDLES OF HERODIAN POTTERY.

Fig. 1 is intended to illustrate the device upon the Ophel stamps. It shows a seal from the Louvre collection, bearing the inscription לסראל (Levy's "Siegel und Gemmen," Taf. I, fig. 3). It will be seen that in this gem the human figure of the *Ferouher* has disappeared, and left merely the disk, with the wings and tail of a bird. It may be conjectured that the well known Egyptian device of the winged globe may have had some influence in the evolution of this design.

Fig. 2 is the writer's restoration of the stamp upon the Herodian vase handles.

Figs. 3 *to* 6 show the four best specimens of the potter's stamps. These may be compared with the originals at the offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as they scarcely do justice to the delicate and artistic forms of the letters, which are quite equal to those upon the Siloam Inscription.

The lettering upon the stamps is as follows :—

Fig. 3, (*No.* 67.)

למל[ך]

There does not appear to have been any letters at all at the bottom of this stamp, and thus the whole inscription upon it would be *la-melek* = "of the king."

Fig. 4, (*No.* 68.) The letters upon the right side have not been impressed.

[למ] לך
[? ?] שת

This inscription was read by Dr. Samuel Birch as "King Shat"; * by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau as "to Molokshet"; † by Prof. Sayce as the compound name of a deity "Melech-Sheth." ‡ All these readings, however, ignore the probability that there were two other

* "The Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 474.

† "Sceaux et Cachets," par Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (Paris, 1883), p. 17.

‡ "The Phœnician Inscriptions on the Vase Handles found at Jerusalem," by the Rev. Prof. Sayce. *Quart. Stat. P.E.F.*, 1893, p. 240.

letters upon the right hand part of the stamp, these letters having failed to appear owing to the imperfection of the impression. Hebrew proper names ending in שת are rare, but we may instance the place-names דבשת, Josh. xix, 11; הרשת, Judges iv, 2; and פלשת, Exodus xv, 14.

Fig. 5, (*No.* 69.) Here, again, the right hand of the stamp is imperfect.

[ל]מ [ל]ך
נה [שה]?

Prof. Sayce takes the imperfect marks in the lower right hand corner to be the remains of a *Shin*, and reads the inscription as "of Melech-Shochoh," which he explains as relating to a deity = Moloch of Sochoh, a town named in Josh. xv, 35. Prof. Ganneau believes he can trace a *Gimel* in this place. To the author, however, there appears to be traces of *two* letters which seem to be שה, thus making the whole legend at the bottom of the stamp שהנה. The personal names מעכה, 1 Chron. xxvii, 16, and ברכה, 1 Chron. xii, 3; and the place names סבכה, Josh. xv, 61, and סלכה, Deut. iii, 10, may be instanced for the termination נה.

Fig. 6, (*No.* 70,) offers the most perfect impression:

למלך
זף

This has been read by Dr. Birch as meaning "of king Zepha"; by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau "to Molokziph"; and by Prof. Sayce as "of Melech-Ziph" (or "of the Moloch of Ziph," a town mentioned in Josh. xv, 24). It should, however, be noted that in 1 Chron. iv, 16, זף appears as the proper name of a man. It might, therefore, be suggested that the lettering above and below the winged object should be read separately; *la-melek* showing that it was royal pottery, and *Ziph* being the name of the potter.

We thus have four inscriptions:—

למל[ך] No. 67.
[למ]לכ[?]שת No. 68.
[ל]מ[ל]כ[שה]נה No. 69.
למלכזף No. 70.

PLATE II.

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

Owing to the incomplete nature of these inscriptions, any interpretation of them must be regarded with great reserve. Prof. Ganneau makes the very probable suggestion that they were merely the names of the potters. Dr. Birch thought they referred to a hypothetical king *Zepha* and a king *Shat*, who are totally unknown to history. Prof. Sayce suggested that they were dedications to local deities.

However, the point to which the writer desires to draw attention is the fact that the Old Hebrew letters upon these jar handles are exactly the same in style as those upon the Siloam Inscription. This is especially noticeable in the letter *Kaph*. The extremely elegant Siloam letters have their chief strokes in the form of a double curve; and this characteristic is reproduced upon the Ophel pottery.

PLATE II.—TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

Col. 1. It has been objected that the table of alphabets in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XIX, p. 172, did not include the alphabet found upon the Baal Lebanon bronzes. It is therefore given here for comparison. It will be evident that the Baal Lebanon alphabet (the oldest known form of the Semitic script) differs widely from the Siloam letters, and that these latter must consequently be vastly later in date.

Col. 2. Shows the letters used upon the coins of king Antigonus, 40 to 37 B.C.

Col. 3. Exhibits the eight characters found upon the Herodian vase handles, for comparison with the Siloam forms.

He is not precisely like the Siloam letter, but is evidently closely allied in style.

Zain upon handle No. 70 is unfortunately imperfect, so that we cannot decide if the right hand side of the letter terminated in the two hooks which are so characteristic of the Siloam form.

Kaph is exactly the same as the Siloam כ in every particular.

Lamed also has the exact Siloam form.

Mem differs from the Siloam letter only in having the strokes in its head unconnected by a bar. This peculiarity first appears in the מ upon the Phœnician coins of Alexander the Great, and this alone would demonstrate that the Ophel potter's stamps were late in date; even if the same conclusion were not forced upon us by the device of the degraded winged objects.

Pe is almost the same as at Siloam.

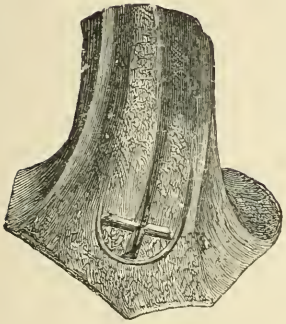
Shin is exactly the same as at Siloam; but this is the usual shape of the Old Hebrew letter.

Tau. The same remarks apply as to *Shin*.

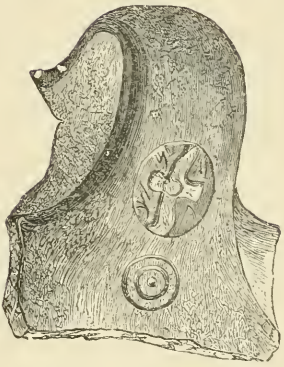
Our knowledge of the Old Hebrew alphabet is chiefly derived from coins and engraved gems, where, owing to limitations of space, the artists could not bring out the beauties of the script. On the Ophel stamps, however, the letters are sufficiently large to display all the graces of form; and as the characters of the Siloam Inscription are about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, they also gave proper scope to the engraver. The lettering of the Ophel pottery is so exactly identical with the characters of the Siloam Inscription, that it must be evident that they both belong to one and the same period: a period of culture and magnificence, when great attention was paid to calligraphy, just as at Palmyra in the time of Zenobia. We have seen that the Ophel jar handles were discovered upon a layer of earth containing pottery of a very late period; and that they were certainly deposited where they were found after the building of Herod's temple wall. It is therefore impossible to resist the conclusion that these handles date from the Herodian period; and the lettering upon them is a strong confirmation of the view that the Siloam Inscription must be assigned to the reign of king Herod the Great.

The Society is indebted to the kindness of the Palestine Exploration Fund for the use of the blocks of alphabets (p. 213) and the two jar handles (Plate III).

PLATE III.



HANDLE. (No 5.)
UNINSCRIBED.

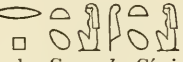


HANDLE. (No. 70.)
WITH POTTER'S STAMP.

TWO OF THE JAR HANDLES DISCOVERED AT THE BASE OF HEROD'S TEMPLE PLATFORM.

LA DÉESSE  .

PAR KARL PIEHL.

A propos de l'expression  traduite par moi en 1891, "la princesse Maat," dans la *Seconde Série* de mes Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques,* les auteurs de la *Critique d'un critique*,† ont daigné décréter: "M. PIEHL a confondu simplement deux mots très différents, *ropāït* 'princesse' et *ropït* 'statue, image.' Pour un lexicographe avisé, c'est jouer de malheur."

La thèse qu'on vient de lire est quelque peu hardie, comme je n'ai ici rien confondu du tout. De l'autre côté, il est avéré que, au moment de donner ma traduction, je connaissais depuis longtemps fort bien le vocable *ropīt* "image," que plus haut seulement de 15 lignes d'impression, dans ma traduction, on peut lire,‡ et qu'assurément aussi les critiques en question y ont lu, quoi qu'en tenant simplement compte de ce dernier fait, il eussent perdu un argument qui sonnait trop bien dans leurs oreilles pour pouvoir être abandonné. Cette espèce de critique est purement aventurière, comme elle rend le critiqué responsable d'idées qu'il n'a jamais eues, si ce n'est dans l'imagination suréchauffée d'un critique tourmenté par "l'animosité personnelle."

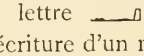
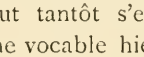
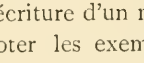
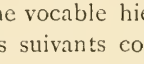
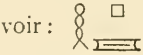
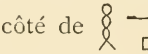
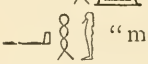
Il m'est d'ailleurs arrivé plus d'une fois d'employer—dans mon susdit ouvrage—la traduction "princesse" pour le même mot, par exemple à la page 31, où il est dit à Amon: "Ton œil t'apprécie en son nom remarquable de 'princesse,' se manifestant sous forme d'uræus sur ton front," etc. La meilleure preuve de l'inopportunité de la quasi-critique à laquelle, dans ce cas, j'avais été exposé,

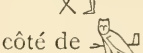
* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série. Vol. II, page 41.

† Extrait du *Recueil*, XX, page 27.

‡ PIEHL, *l.l.*, II, page 40; comme explication du groupe  [PIEHL, *l.l.*, I, Pl. LXIV, l. 4]. Le même groupe a été également traduit "image," page 38 du Vol. II de la Seconde Série.

preuve qui à la fois est une excellente illustration de l'ineptie qu'on avait faite en voulant me renvoyer à "un ouvrage qui n'est pas tout-à-fait inconnu à M. PIEHL et qui lui a rendu quelques services, le *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique* de BRUGSCH"*—c'est l'examen des paroles imprimées à la page 214 de "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter," où BRUGSCH dit textuellement ceci: "Der Name der himmlischen Gottesmutter REPI kehrt im Todtenbuche (CLXII, 8) in der Verbindung *Repit ahat*, d. i. "Repit die Kuh" wieder. Es ist dieselbe, welche in andern Inschriften als *Repāt*, d. i. "die Thronfolgerin aufgeführt wird." N'y aurait-il pas eu lieu d'appliquer ici ce qui a été dit de moi et, par conséquent, de décréter aussi, que BRUGSCH "a confondu simplement deux mots très différents, *ropāït* 'princesse' et *ropït* 'statue, image" et puis d'ajouter, pour le compte du grand savant, quelque chose concernant les déboires d'un 'lexicographe avisé,'" etc.?

Théorétiquement, il est fort probable qu'il y ait une parenté étroite entre *ropāit* et *ropīt*, puisque nous savons qu'en bien des cas, la lettre  peut tantôt s'exprimer tantôt se supprimer dans l'écriture d'un même vocable hiéroglyphique. A cet égard, on peut noter les exemples suivants comme particulièrement instructifs à savoir:  à côté de  "le Nil,"  à côté de  "momie,"  à côté de  "côté,"  à côté de  *préfixe nominal*, etc.†

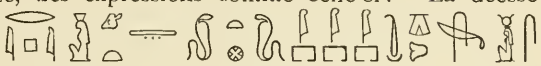
Un bon exemple de plus d'une pareille variation dans l'écriture d'un mot défini, c'est la forme  que, dans le titre de fonctionnaire *erpā-hā*, nous trouvons constamment pour la forme plus fréquente sur un monument de la XII[e] dynastie.‡ Cela vous

* Voir ce qu'a dit, en 1882, il y a 16 ans, notre regretté président SIR P. LE PAGE RENOUF [*Proceedings*, V, page 13] sur la critique qu'alors je venais de publier concernant le supplément du Dictionnaire de BRUGSCH. Les louanges d'alors sont maintenant désavoués par un jeune débutant de notre science qui enseigne que l'ouvrage de BRUGSCH ne m'est pas tout-à-fait inconnu. Ce n'est d'ailleurs qu'en égyptologie qu'on accorde actuellement aux mineurs voix au chapitre.

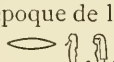
† L'existence de pareils doublets en égyptien est une des raisons essentielles en faveur de mon acception de comme lettre voyelle, à la différence de celle des Berlinois qui y voient une consonne.

‡ PIEHL, *Proceedings*, 1890, Novembre (Vol. XIII, p. 43).

amène fort naturellement à regarder  comme identique à  .

De l'autre côté, des expressions comme celle-ci: "La déesse Hathor" . . . . .  "Repit à Dendérah, les temples sont solides contenant son image" * —semblent indiquer que *repit* "signifie autre chose que *sem* 'image'; autrement, on se trouverait en présence d'une tautologie."

De pareilles considérations montrent que ce n'est pas à la légère et sans raison que nous ayons, BRUGSCH et moi, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, admis l'existence d'une déesse *repit* qui serait à rapprocher de  , au point de vue étymologique. Cette déesse qui, suivant BRUGSCH, est la même que *Triphis* des inscriptions classiques de l'Egypte, représente évidemment une forme apparentée à Hathor ou à Maât. "La maison de Repît" est un nom fréquent du temple de Dendérah.† Il est donc certain que nous avons à regarder *Repit* comme une déesse de l'aurore et du crépuscule.

En étudiant l'histoire de la déesse *Repit*, on en est pourtant amené à lui trouver une autre étymologie que celle admise par BRUGSCH et par nous-même. A l'époque de la XII^e^ dynastie, le nom de notre déesse s'écrit quelquefois  ,‡ ce qui montre que, originairement, le sens en est "l'image."

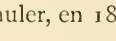
SIGTUNA, 25 *Juin* 1898.

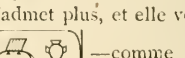
* DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, Pl. L.
† BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, s. v.
‡ *La stèle C* 15 du Louvre.

UNE DERNIÈRE FOIS, LE SIGNE  .

Par Karl Piehl.

C'est avec le plus profond étonnement que je viens de lire l'article, relatif à cet hiéroglyphe, qui se voit dans les *Proceedings* [XVIII, p. 187–191]. Le résultat auquel, ici, M. Max Müller est arrivé, se résume dans la constatation suivante, terminant son examen du sujet en question: "  is  *au* up to the Ptolemaic time, later on it is used sometimes for  *fau*, possibly even for *fu*."

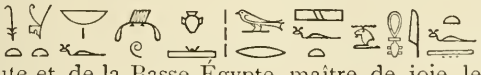
Il me semble que M. Müller a omis d'examiner à fond mes exemples des *Proceedings* [XI, p. 224], car autrement il lui aurait été absolument impossible de formuler, en 1896, la conclusion qu'on vient de lire. Dans la série de mes exemples, il y en avait de la XII^e^, comme aussi des XVIII^e^—XX^e^ dynasties, pour lesquels l'équation  était démontrée d'une façon indubitable. Dans ces circonstances et, comme les paroles de M. Müller sont *en partie* appuyées par l'assertion énoncée dans la matière par un autre collègue,* on me permettra sans doute—dans l'intérêt de

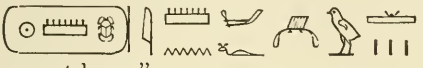
* C'est M. Maspero, qui [De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 105, note 1] en 1894, se prononce de la sorte dans une lettre adressée à M. de Morgan: "Je regrette que la vieille lecture *fou*, *wou* de  ait été seule connue autour de vous: voici de *longues années* (!) qu'on ne l'admet plus, et elle vous a empêché d'identifier et de placer votre roi—  —comme il convenait. Wiedemann .... vous aurait donné deux rois de la XIII^e^ dynastie qui portent le même nom: seulement Wiedemann, transcrivant comme il convient  par *aou*, *ou*, les cite sous le nom correcte de *Ra-autu-ab* .... C'est donc *Aououtouabrê*, *Awou tou abra* (ou *rî*) que s'appelle réellement le personnage, *comme tout égyptologue* (!) *au courant de ce qui s'est fait dans les quinze dernières années aurait dû vous le dire*." D'après ces paroles, il faut croire que par exemple Erman et moi—tous les deux admettant la lecture *fu* pour le signe  ne sommes pas "au courant de ce qui s'est fait dans les quinze dernières années" en égyptologie.

la vérité scientifique—d'extraire à cette occasion de mon susdit mémoire les exemples appartenant à des monuments antérieurs à l'époque gréco-romaine [ceux des basses époques étant pour le moment inutiles, l'équation ayant été réconnue pour celles-là par mon honorable contradicteur].

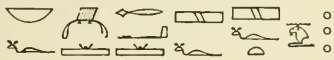
Voici donc les dits exemples datant de la belle époque hiéroglyphique :

a. "Le noble et prince, le très puissant parmi les gens de marque."

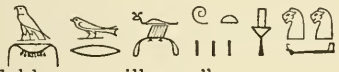
b.  "Roi de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte, maître de joie, le très vigoureux à l'instar de son père *Tanen*."

c.  "*Ra-men-cheper-amon*, éminemment large."

d.  . . . . . "celui qui fait connaître à chaque personne ses devoirs, celui qui fait des largesses dans . . . . . "

e.  "maître de puissance, grand de terreur."

f.  "Vaste par puissance, (sorti) du ventre de *Nout*."

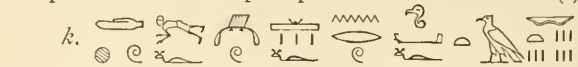
g.  "Horus d'or, très puissant, formidable par vaillance."

h.  "Les deux diadèmes, celui qui est riche en puissance."

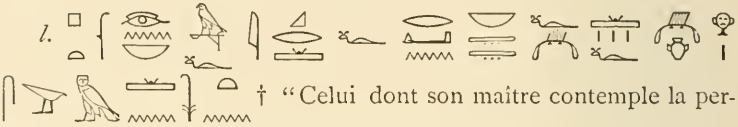
De ces exemples, ceux donnés sous les lettres *a* et *d* datent de la XII[e] dynastie—l'un étant emprunté à MARIETTE, *Abydos*, III, 121, l'autre à la stèle *C* 26 du Louvre—tout le reste proviennent de monuments appartenant à la XVIII[e]—XX[e] dynastie. Je trouve inutile de donner maintenant les renvois pour chacun des derniers, le lecteur pouvant facilement se renseigner à cet égard dans les notes au-dessous de la page des *Proceedings* [XI, p. 221].

Aux exemples cités, nous en ajouterons deux nouveaux empruntés à un texte * de la XX^e^ dynastie. Les voici :

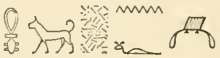
i.  "Celui dont la puissance et le respect parviennent aux limites (?) de la terre."

k.  "Celui dont la puissance et la majesté terrassent les neuf peuples d'arc."

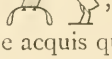
Finalement, j'extrairai de l'ouvrage, relatif à "Siut et Der-Rifeh," de M. GRIFFITH, quelques nouveaux specimens de  dans la valeur de *fu*. Ce sont les suivants :

l.  † "Celui dont son maître contemple la perfection, celui à qui le maître des deux pays offre ses richesses, celui qui se réjouit de la guidance du roi."

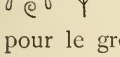
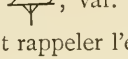
m.  ‡ "Celui auquel le roi a donné sa puissance, le guide habile auprès de son supérieur."

n.  .§ [Ici  est bien certainement *un* mot.]

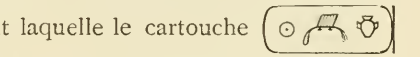
Les exemples *l–n* datant, selon M. MASPERO,‖ de la fin de l'Ancien Empire, il est impossible de ne pas leur accorder une certaine autorité dans le débat qui se poursuit.

On voit donc que partout—à partir de la fin de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'aux derniers moments de l'Égypte ancienne—le groupe  "large, riche, puissant, largesse, puissance," etc., s'écrit ou *peut* s'écrire  , c'est-à-dire à l'aide d'un  initial. Cela étant, il reste acquis que notre signe est à lire, pour toute cette longue période, *fu*. Il faut donc évidemment reconnaître l'éxacti-

* BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, V, pages 1198 et 1205.
† GRIFFITH, *l.l.*, 4, 221.
‡ GRIFFITH, *l.l.*, 5, 243 = *ibid.*, 5, 243.
§ GRIFFITH, *ibid.*, 11, 19.
‖ *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient Asiatique*, I, p. 455.

tude de la lecture *nefu*, que nous avions proposée pour le groupe  de la XVIII^e^ dynastie; et de même, de celle de *tefu* pour le groupe  , var. de  . A propos de ce dernier mot, on peut rappeler l'existence du nom propre d'homme  , datant de l'Ancien Empire.*

Loin donc d'accepter le compromis que nous propose M. Max Müller, nous maintenons au contraire la position qu'une fois nous avions prise, position qui comme on voit, scientifiquement, peut se soutenir à merveille.

Des remarques qui précèdent, il résulte que la thèse, énoncée sur le ton d'un oracle, suivant laquelle le cartouche  ne devrait nullement se lire *Ra-fu-âb*, est complètement erronée.

Je ne pense pas nécessaire d'éxpliquer maintenant au long mon acception de la lecture qu'offre les textes des pyramides pour le signe  . J'en ai parlé suffisamment dans les *Proceedings*, XV, p. 488. Et M. Max Müller n'a pas encore réfuté mon raisonnement concernant *le hiatus* qui expliquerait la présence de  dans certains mots dont les variantes offrent des formes sans  ni  .

* Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 251.

NOTE.

Dr. F. W. Freiher von Bissing, points out to me that with reference to the title  discussed by Prof. Dr. Piehl (Contributions, pp. 198–201) in the last Part of the *Proceedings*, stronger evidence was advanced for the reading *nebti*, by Daressy, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XVII, p. 113, note No. cxxiii, 1895.

W. H. Rylands.

À PROPOS DES DEUX SCEAUX HÉTÉENS.

PAR K. J. BASMADJIAN.



No. 1.



No. 2.

"*Handes Amsoreaj*," la revue mensuelle des PP. Mekhitharistes de Vienne, a publié dans son numéro de Mai (1898, p. 139) ces "deux sceaux hétéens" * appartenant à un antiquaire de Kaïsérié (*Césarée*) et provenant de Malatia (*Mélitène*). Les deux sceaux sont en argent, comme la plaque dite de Tarkondémos. Le premier de ceux-ci est grand et tout à fait *pictographique ;* il n'y a pas un signe de hétéen, ni même le *snow-boots*, c'est-à-dire les bottes pointues courbées en haut pour pouvoir marcher sur la neige, la caractéristique des monuments hétéens, qu'a remarqué le premier M. le Prof. Sayce. Tandis que le deuxième sceau est un peu plus petit et porte les caractères hétéens aux nombres de sept, sans compter les deux **O**.

Quelle est la valeur de ces signes et à qui appartient le sceau? —Jusqu'à ce jour nous n'avons qu'une seule petite inscription bilingue—la fameuse plaque de Tarkondémos—qui ne nous permet, malgré des recherches sérieuses, que des suppositions et des hypothèses. Parmi les savants qui se sont occupés de l'hétéen, comme MM. les Profs. Sayce, Halévy, etc., etc., M. le Prof.

* Je dois ces empreintes à l'amabilité de mon ami le Rév. P. Grigoris Dr. Kalemkiarean, Mekhithariste de Vienne.

Jensen nous présente son système de déchiffrement, dans un travail récemment paru : *Hittiter und Armenier*, Strassburg, 1898. Donc nous avons aujourd'hui sous la main différents systèmes pour arriver à déchiffrer et traduire les inscriptions hétéennes. Ainsi selon M. le Prof. Sayce la langue des Hétéens appartient au dialecte des inscriptions vanniques et à la langue de Mitanni. Selon M. le Prof. Halévy la langue des Hétéens appartient aux idiomes de la Cappadoce. Et selon les autres, cette langue appartient aux langues sémitiques. M. le Prof. Jensen prétend au contraire que la langue des Hétéens appartient à l'arménien ; mais il lit leurs inscriptions à l'aide de l'arménien *moderne !* * Seulement il a la chance de trouver la valeur idéographique de quelques signes, ce qui nous conduit à déchiffrer notre sceau.

Les caractères de ce sceau sont cursifs, composés de simples traits ; ce qui nous permet de le placer dans une époque plus récente que les inscriptions de Hamat, de Djérabis et de Marachei où les caractères sont hiéroglyphique.

Le premier signe, en commençant de haut en bas à la manière boustrophédon, correspond au d No. 1 de Jensen, qui donne la valeur idéographique de "grand."

Le deuxième signe correspond au b No. 6 de Jensen, avec la valeur de "roi," "prince."?

Le troisième correspond au b β No. 3 de Jensen, donnant la valeur de "Mut(d)al-."

Le quatrième correspond au B a No. 7 de Jensen, et au No. 25 de Ménant,† qui lit avec Sayce : *ir*, *ri*? Jensen lit : *n*. Ici nous préférons la lecture de Sayce, *ri*, ou mieux : *li*, à cause de $r = l$.

Le cinquième correspond au b *a* No. 10 de Jensen, qui donne la valeur de "souverain, dominateur." Il peut correspondre aussi au b *a* No. 18, avec la valeur de "fils."

Le sixième correspond au III No. 4 de Jensen, et au No. 20 de Ménant, avec la valeur syllabique de *er*. Jensen ne donne aucune valeur à ce signe ; il croit que c'est un "wortbeschliesser." Nous ne sommes pas d'accords de nouveau avec M. Jensen ; car si le troisième signe de notre sceau a la valeur idéographique de *Mut(d)al-* avec le complément phonétique de *li*, et, si le cinquième signe a la

* Il y a quatre ans que j'avais fait la même observation à M. Jensen, observation parue dans la même revue arménienne, "*Handes Amsoreaj*," Décembre, 1894, p. 383.

† *Éléments du syllabaire hétéen.* Paris, 1892.

valeur idéographique de "souverain," il est certaine qu'il faut absolument chercher ici des signes ayant la valeur syllabique de *ḳum* et de *muḥ*, ou bien un signe idéographique pour désigner le nom du pays de *Ḳummuḥ*. Nous arrivons à cette hypothèse à l'aide des inscriptions de Sargon (722–705 av. J.-C.), où nous trouvons trois fois mentionné le nom d'un roi hétéen qui était un de ses principaux adversaires, et qui s'appelait : *Mut-tal-u (mâtu) Ḳum-mu-ḥa-ai* = "Muttallu (roi) du pays de Ḳummuḥ," (*Annales*, ll. 195 et 388 ; *Fastes*, l. 112). Et pourtant nous avons deux signes encore, l'un est celui que nous venons de citer, et qui, selons nous, doit avoir la valeur syllabique de *ḳum ;* l'autre c'est le septième signe, qui doit avoir également la valeur de *muḥ*, et qui manque dans la liste de Jensen. Suivant les inscriptions de Salmanassar II, on peut également chercher ici le nom du pays de *Gamgum ;* car Salmanassar II (860–825, av. J.-C.) parle d'un autre Muttallu ou Mutalli, son contemporain, qui était roi hétéen de Gamgum : *Mu-tal-li* (*mâtu*) *Gam-gu-ma-ai* = "Mutalli (roi) du pays de Gamgum." (*Monol.*, col. I, ll. 40 et 41). Dans ce cas, nous serons obligé de changer la valeur donné au sixième et au septième signe de notre sceau ; alors nous aurons *gam* et *gum*, au lieu de *ḳum* et *muḥ*, ou un seul signe pour l'idéogramme de *Gamgum*. Mais, tout au contraire, si le cinquième signe correspond au b *a* No. 18 de Jensen, ayant la valeur idéographique de "fils," nous arrivons à une autre lecture, nous appuyant sur le nom du père de Muttallu. Ainsi nous savons par les inscriptions du même Sargon que le père de Muttallu s'appelait : *Tar-ḥu-la-ra* (*mâtu*) *Gam-gu-ma-ai šu Mut-tal-lu aplu-šu* . . . = "Tarḥulara (roi) du pays de Gamgum, que son fils Muttallu. . ." (*Annales*, ll. 209 et 211 ; *Fastes*, l. 83 et 84). Or nous devons avoir ici les expressions phonétiques de *tarḥu* et de *lara*. Ce n'est pas étonnant que nous ayons sur notre sceau le signe de *tarḥ(ḳ)u*, lu jusqu'aujourd'hui *dimme* d'après la plaque de Tarkondémos, et lu (BI-BI-)U(-AŠ-ŠE) par Jensen. C'est le septième signe même de notre sceau, déjà connu dès les premier jours des études hétéennes, c'est-à-dire depuis la reconnaissance de la plaque de Tarkondémos. Jusqu'à présent on ne l'a pas rencontré ailleurs que sur les sceaux de M. D. G. Hogarth.*

Je ne puis rien dire pour les deux ○.

* Voir ces sceaux dans *Recueil de Travaux, etc.*, de M. le Prof. Maspero, 1895, p. 25–27.

Ainsi en supposant que sur la plaque de Tarkondémos  indique "chef, souverain,"  se lit *tarḫ(ḳ)u* et  *dimme*, nous arrivons à cette conclusion que le dernier signe de notre sceau  doit avoir la valeur phonétique de *lara*. Or en réunissant tous ces signes, nous avons: "Grand roi Muttall(i)u, fils de Tarḫulara."

Cette interprétation est admissible d'autant plus que le sceau vient de Malatia, pays voisin de Ḳummuḫ, appartenant également au même roi Muttallu, fixé sur un passage des inscriptions de Sargon, qui dit: *Mut-tal-lum* (*mâtu*) *Ku-muḫ-ḫa-ai* . . . . . (*âlu*) *Me*-lid-du alu-šu rabu-a u-šad-gi-lu pa-nu-uš-šu* . . . = "Muttallu (=roi) du pays de Ḳummuḫ. . . . . j'ai subjugué sa grande ville Malatia devant lui . . . " (*Annales*, ll. 388 et 390.) D'après ce passage le roi Muttallu dominait à Malatia vers l'an 712–708 av. J.-C. Outre cela nous avons une autre preuve: L'inscription hétéenne d'Arslan-tépé, tout près d'Orda-sou (Malatia), nous montre que Muttallu était en effet roi de Commagène (*Ḳummuḫ*) et de Mélitène (*Meliddu*). Dans cette inscription Jensen lit le signe  *Mut(d)al-*, le nom du roi de Ḳummuḫ.† Or, comme de l'aveu de tous, les sceaux doivent généralement porter la légende des noms propres, il est bien probable que nous avons ici dans le même signe le nom du même roi, Muttallu, gravé sur son sceau.

Comme nous avons fait remarquer plus haut, le livre des M. Jensen n'est pas un ouvrage complet; il y manque des signes qui sont déjà connus ailleurs. Quant à la langue, M. Jensen a les mêmes intentions que feu Mordtmann avait pour la langue des inscriptions vanniques, sans pouvoir nous montrer un point d'appui assez solide. On peut se demander: Si les Hétéens sont des Proto-Arméniens, et si leur langue est l'arménien, pourquoi ne peut on pas expliquer à

* MM. les Profs. Oppert et Winckler ont mal lu: *U-lid-du*, en supposant que  fait la partie de , et qu'il faut lire . Mais d'après l'observation de M. Jensen on a examiné de nouveau les estampages du palais de Khorsabad, à la Bibliothèque nationale, et on a corrigé le en . Cf. *Recueil de Travaux, etc.*, 1896, p. 116, de l'article de Jensen.

† Voir l'inscription d'Arslan-tépé dans *Recueil, etc.*, 1895, p. 25. Pour la transcription et la traduction de cette inscription voir l'ouvrage de M. Jensen, p. 36 et 37.

l'aide de l'arménien tant de noms propres hétéens connus par les inscriptions égyptiennes, assyriennes, et par les auteurs classiques? Étant Arménien, je voudrais bien que cette gloire soit donnée à ma langue maternelle, s'il y a des preuves suffisantes. Mais nous ne pourrons dire la vérité qu'au moment où on aura la chance de trouver une autre inscription bilingue. Enfin disons avec F. Lenormant, "Nous n'avons besoin que de savoir attendre."

Queens' College, Cambridge,

May 4, 1898.

Dear Sir,

The following note on the last portion of H. Winckler's *Altorientalische Forschungen* may be of interest to your readers:—

"On page 4 ff. the text of K. 6223 and K. 6332 from the Kouyunjik Collection is published in transcription. Then follows a shrewd discussion of the bearing of these texts on Assyrian history. The acumen which Dr. Winckler has always displayed renders anything he may say deserving of respect: but he has oddly mistaken the nature of these documents.

"The B. M. Catalogue calls them 'Historical Inscriptions,' and ventures the opinion that the latter belongs to Assurbanipal. They both belong to the class of tablet which the Catalogue indifferently calls 'private contracts' or 'proclamations.' Dr. Meissner calls the same Freibrief. They recount the donation of extensive property to some officer of the king, evidently in reward for distinguished services. The king in question in the above two cases happens to be Assur-edil-ilâni, of whose inscriptions so few have been preserved."

I am, yours obediently,

C. H. W. JOHNS.

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

524, PENN AVENUE,
PITTSBURGH PA.,
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W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

DEAR SIR,

The contribution of Doctor Jules Oppert in the *Proceedings* of January 11th, 1898, deserves the thanks of all who are in any wise interested in the subject of biblical and comparative chronology. It certainly presents a very suggestive view of the entire period, and is especially notable as a vigorous renewal of the controversy, if not a marked reaction against the schemes which have come to be so largely accepted, but which tend so greatly to discredit the Hebrew writers, and lessen faith in the integrity of the Scriptures, as well in alleged historic events as in their reputed inspiration. This re-assertion of continued and unflinching faith in the biblical chronology seems to indicate progress in the right direction, buttressed as it is by suggestions and proposed expedients, some of which may, perhaps, be just as applicable as the date now most generally accepted and finding its place in "the books," as to the change to 809 B.C. proposed by this distinguished Orientalist.

In this change proposed it is, however, feared that there may lurk an element of uncertainty which might be fatal to any attempt to establish a date from which "to compute forward and backward" as is now done from the basis 763 B.C. It is also thought that the suggestion of a "gap" or interval of some forty-six years during which the list of eponyms is found in the "Eponym Canon," does not seem to have any absolutely sure foundation, nor is it necessary on the basis of 763 B.C. Neither do there seem to be data determining with positive certainty the exact place or places where the omissions or eliminations have been made, nor is it known assuredly whether this interval is made up of several small

"gaps" or consists of one continuous succession of years. It may be conceded that where the Canon states that a solar eclipse occurred in the year of a certain eponym, the date of that eponym can be accurately determined; and so also that by the proximity of the eponym of the reigning monarch, the date of the beginning of his reign may be ascertained: it, "according to the ancient usage," being "the second complete year of the king's reign." (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and Old Testament*, Vol. II, p. 167, note.) Thus Salmaneser's eponym year was 858, the year of his accession 860; the eponym year of Tiglath-pileser was 743, the year of his accession 745 (*ibid.*, p. 182). But it is obvious that unless there is somewhere found a positive statement of the duration of his reign, such as in an inscription or some well established authority, that duration can only be satisfactorily determined from the eponym canon, when it is certain that this ancient usage was invariably maintained, and that there is no break, no lacuna in the list of eponyms subsequent to his eponymy. With these uncertainties, or this undetermined or floating element, there would seem to come a chaotic condition into the Assyrian chronological system largely affecting its worth, and certainly disqualifying it for discrediting other systems or vaunting its superior reliability.

By Dr. Oppert the "gap" is assumed to have occurred after the reign of Assurnirar, the ending of which is ordinarily and by him also dated 792 B.C. But if the "gap" in eponyms began there, it is possible that this king reigned later than this date would indicate, and it cannot certainly be known when Belesys began his reign over Assyria, even if we knew when he began to reign over Babylon, nor how long he held the throne. There is therefore, very properly, no attempt made by Dr. Oppert to definitely determine the number of years of his supposed reign, farther than to suggest its limit by what is gathered from a biblical source as to the reign of the king of Assur therein named Pul, who exacted tribute from Menahem, the king of Israel, whose reign is usually put 772–761 B.C. But of this Pul, except as he may be identified with the Porus, Pulu, or Pul, who for a brief period seems to have ruled over Babylon, no account whatever has been thus far found in the Assyrian records, and this identification is, by Dr. Oppert, declared to be "insensate." There is, therefore, no data derivable from either Hebrew or Assyrian sources by which to determine in what year of Menahem's reign this tribute was taken.

Concerning this Pul, Oppert writes: "King Pul of Assyria, the contemporary of Menahem, reigned before 762 B.C. He preceded the dynasty beginning with Nabu-sum-ukin, the predecessor of Chinziros, who mounted the throne in 731 B.C. He is of course more than thirty years anterior to the second Pul, the Poras of the Ptolemaic Canon, the antagonist of Tiglath-pileser, whom be turned out from Babylon at least once, if not twice." But to this the objection seems to be that the names Pul, Nabu-sum-ukin. and Nabonassar are not anywhere found in the Assyrian records or lists as kings of Assyria; that, down to 607 B.C. the lists in which they and Chinziros (Ukinzir), Poros (Pulu), appear, are distinctively rulers of Babylon, for the most part subordinate to the kings of Assyria until B.C. 607, except in those cases where well known kings of Assyria in person administered the affairs of the province, *e.g.*, Tiglath-pileser (if Pulu), two years; Sargon, five years; Sennacherib (?), eight years; Esar-haddon, twelve years. The two years of Poros (Pulu) in the Canon or list of Ptolemy are clearly contemporaneous with the two years of Tiglath-pileser, so that either Poros was subordinate to Tiglath-pileser, or the two names belonged to one and the same person. This identity seems to be corroborated in 1 Chron. v, 26, where the verb "carried" in the singular number requires the conjunction after Assyria to be rendered by "even" instead of "and." It is so rendered in the second subsequent clause. The verse would then read: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, even the spirit of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites," &c. Now, since the Bible is the only incontestable documentary authority for the name and title "Pul, king of" (Asshur) "Assyria," it would seem that this third mention of the name and title, accompanied by the appositional or exegetical clause, ought to be an amply sufficient authoritative assertion of the "identity of Pul and Tiglath-pileser," especially while its direct contradiction by any authoritative "historical document" does not clearly and indefeasibly appear.

The most serious hindrances to a satisfactory synchronization of the Biblical and the Assyrian records arise from uncertainty or perversity in the interpretation or identification of certain proper names and events mentioned in the inscriptions. For instance, the names "Ahab of Israel" are persistently read for "A-ha-ab-bu Sir-'-a-la," or "Sir-'-lai," which occurs in the list of the allies of Irkhulin of

Hamath in the battle fought at Qarqar with Shalmaneser, some forty years after the supposed biblical date of Ahab's death. Dr. Oppert's date escapes the chronological anachronism, but why an Israelite king should furnish ten thousand men and two thousand chariots to a Hittite king, and should suffer their "loss" without an impairment of strength, or even reference to it by prophet or historian, and how, indeed, he came to have so many chariots, are questions to which Dr. Oppert affords no answer, but which deserve consideration and inspire doubt. The name "Sir-'-lai," lacking the initial yod (I) is not indisputably "Israel," and seems not to have been elsewhere found. The same Shalmaneser in the same inscription uses the expression "Abal Hu-um-ri-i," son of Omri, to identify the king of Israel who twelve years afterward paid him tribute. The unchallenged names of Israel from the time when first referred to are, according to Schrader, "Mat bit Hu-um-ri," land of the house of Omri, or "Mat Hu-um-ri," land of Omri; "Sa-mi-ri-ma," Samaria (pp. 178, 179), and these names are used from the time of Shalmaneser II to Sargon, after whose reign the land is never again mentioned (p. 181). That he should use a name to designate Israel never before and never afterward found in use for that purpose, nor indeed for any purpose, since it is never again found, is altogether incredible, and the interpretation is absolutely unsupported by any other evidence. The same list contains the name of Baasha of Amana, apparently a Hittite chief; and if one Hittite may bear the name of a dead Israelite king, why may not another Hittite bear the name of the Israelite king Ahab, though long since dead?

Whether this change of date holds good or not, it is still believable that "Ahabbu mat Sir'-la ai," was not Ahab the son of Omri. It is apprehended that, if the name preceding "Sir-'-la-ai" had not been the same as that of a previously reigning king of Israel, "Sir-'-la-ai" would never have been read "Israel." In the same list "Mu-us-ra-ai" was interpreted "Egypt." In 1889, in a paper then published, it was suggested that this was not Egypt, and it is now relegated to the north towards Cappadocia. A similar mistake is most likely made in the identification of Ben-hadad, the commandant of the Damascene contingent in the same battle of Qarqar, with the king of that name contemporary with Ahab, rather than, as is chronologically more probable, with the Ben-hadad son of Hazael, who in the wars with Israel during his father's lifetime led his

father's armies, and so also would be the commander of this contributory force.

The case of Jehu, on the doubtful, but at present accepted, theory, would occasion no trouble on Dr. Oppert's scheme, but internal evidence seems to point strongly to Jehoahaz (Ja-u-ahaz) as the particular Ja-u among the Ja-u's who paid the tribute. (*Cf.* Pharaoh, common to the rulers of Egypt, as was Ja-u, either as prefix or suffix common to the rulers of that age of both Judah and Israel.)

The solutions suggested for the case of Jeroboam II and that of Menahem, the latter by the interpolation of a second "Menahem of Samirimai," would be equally applicable to the system based on 763 B.C. as the starting point, though to the later Menahem there seem to be no serious objections.

The identification of the Azariah of the inscriptions attributed to Tiglath-pileser as the "son of Tabeel," the pretender to the crown of Judah against Jotham and Ahaz, would suit the 763 B.C. basis just as well as that of 809 or 930. These inscriptions are, indeed, so fragmentary, and hence of such uncertain meaning, that it seems impossible to determine with certainty from them the exact relation which Azariah and the author of the inscriptions sustained one to the other, and the unsuccessful "son of Tabeel" may, perhaps, better fill up the "gap" than did the earlier and prosperous Uzziah, he having the great advantage of exact contemporaneity with the Assyrian, the Syrian, the Israelite and the Jewish kings named in both cuneiform inscriptions and Hebrew story. In these cases thus treated the Biblical chronology suffers no special damage. Possibly, however, other solutions hereafter suggested may be found less encumbered with difficulty, and may be preferred.

In Dr. Oppert's charge that "among so many genuine figures" there is "one false number" in the story of king Hosea, it is apprehended that the text (2 Kings xv, 30) breviloquently quoted, is misunderstood, and therefore misinterpreted. For this, which is indeed the common inaccuracy, we charge no "mala fide," but simply suggest a different exegesis in accordance with the developed history. The text in our common version in full reads: "And Hosea, the son of Elah, made a conspiracy against Pekah, the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham, the son of Uzziah." Thus is anticipated, in condensed form, the entire story of Hosea, the

details being subsequently given. It is observable that it does not say "in the twentieth year of (the reign of) Jotham," but simply the "twentieth year of Jotham," the meaning of which, if ascertained at all, must be elsewhere found. In the fifth verse of this same chapter of Kings it is stated that prior to his father's death Jotham had been "over the house" (of his father), "judging the people of the land," for a period not definitely limited, except as it may be inferred that his rule began immediately after the judgment upon Uzziah, the date of which is nowhere given. After the death of his father, according to the biblical writer, Jothan reigned sixteen years, having begun his reign in the second year of Pekah's reign. If, then, the expression "in the twentieth year of Jotham" is understood to be the twentieth year of his continuous public life, or from the beginning of his acting over the house, or judging of the people, it must consist of the regency or official life before his father's death, and so many of the years of his actual and sole kingship as would bring him to the twentieth year. Taking, then, Dr. Oppert's figures, the sole reign of Jotham began 758, the second year of Pekah. The last year of Jotham's reign therefore falls in 742. But in 744 Menahem ejects Pekah and reigns in his stead. It follows, therefore, that if Hosea rebelled or conspired against Pekah in Jotham's lifetime, he must have done it either contemporaneously with Menahem, or earlier, and the twentieth year of Jotham's continuous rule must therefore have fallen not later than 745 or 744, and his official authority over the house, and judgeship of the people, must have begun five or six years before his father's death. In 735 Pekah in turn ejects Menahem, and regains his throne, and reigns contemporaneously with Ahaz some five years (735–730), when in the twelfth year of Ahaz, Hoshea's rebellion gives him the mastery, and by the murder of Pekah he gains the throne. That this interpretation is neither incredible nor forced, and that it perfectly harmonizes the synopsis or condensed outline or preliminary contained in xv, 26–31, with the subsequent detailed account of the reign of Pekah, may more fully appear from a simple re-arrangement or transposition of the clause of the preliminary outline, thus: "And Hoshea, the son of Elah, made a conspiracy against Pekah, the son of Ramaliah, in the twentieth year of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, and smote him and slew him and reigned in his stead." It was the conspiracy and rebellion then which took place in Jotham's twentieth year, as is further proved by the fact clearly stated, that

Pekah was still reigning after Jotham's death up to the twelfth year of his successor's reign, and even according to the very ingenious suggestion of Dr. Oppert, had continued on the throne in his last years contemporaneously with Jotham's successor, Ahaz. Neither the original author nor any scribe or "redactor" could be supposed to be so forgetful or so ignorant and stupid as to write that a king was still reigning, whom he had just declared had been slain before the accession to the throne of the king with whom he declares this king was contemporary. That the text is corrupt surely has no other evidence than a somewhat jumbled or confused manner of stating the general anticipatory survey of the reign subsequently more carefully and fully detailed or itemized. The only authorities for the text are not said to differ in any respect from the text which was used by the translators of the English version, so far, at least, as is known to the present writer.

Re-adverting to the introduction of the earlier Pul: a verification of his historicity would certainly satisfy certain chronological conditions, and serve to account for his part of the omitted years. It labours, however, under the disadvantage of indefiniteness as to the number of his years, and thus far nothing concerning him is known, except the single incident of the exaction of tribute from Menahem of Samirimai. If Assyriologists still persist, despite the re-affirmation, after so many years, by this distinguished authority, "of the creators of Assyriology, the only surviving one," in their non-acceptance of this Pul, and adhere to the 763 basis, and in the identity of the one Pul and Tiglath-pileser, perhaps help to a solution of the problems connected therewith may be found in the revolutionary unrest characteristic of the eighteen years which preceded the enthronement of Tiglath-pileser in 745 B.C., this unrest first manifesting itself in the revolt of the city of Asshur in the twelfth year of Assur-dan III (or Assur-edil-el) in 763 B.C. This revolt must have had a leader, but none is by name recorded, and the disaffection was sufficiently widespread to make it probable that whoever the leader may be, he would assume to himself the title, and exercise, as far as possible, the authority of a king of Asshur or Assyria. If this leader was successful, it may be expected that he would, in his inscriptions, follow what seems to have been the custom of that age, that a usurper should give no account of his struggles or exploits before he obtained the crown, unless they could be so given forth or grouped as to be made to appear as performed

after he had ascended the throne, their priority in date being, therefore, carefully suppressed.

The account given in 2 Kings xv, 19, 20 of the appearance and operations of Pul accord well with the theory that he was a rebel, assuming to be king of Asshur or Assyria, and that this irruption was rather of the nature of a raid to replenish an empty treasury than of a regular expedition for conquest or permanent occupation. What he received from both Rezin of Syria and Menahem was in money, which would be to him of the greatest value and service, and the enormous tribute demanded and paid seems to indicate his great necessity. It is not at all improbable that an attempt was at the same time made, but without success, to extort tribute from Azariah and others with whom he seems to have been in contact. Pul was never more heard of in Israel, and his name does not appear in the account of this period found on the monuments. Yet in the inscriptions attributed to Tiglath-pileser III the claim is made that tribute had been paid by Rezin of Syria and Menahem of Samaria, and the name of Azariah is also introduced as king of Judea, the inscriptions, however, being so imperfectly preserved as to render it altogether uncertain whether he was friend or foe, the latter being the most likely. Assuming now that during these eighteen or more years this rebel king persisted in his effort to overthrow the reigning dynasty, and at length, reinforced by the rebellion in Calah (Kalah), he succeeded in placing himself on the throne, taking the name Tiglath-pileser, discarding his real name Pul, which nevertheless was retained in Babylon and the Ptolemaic canon, and we have a solution of this chronological problem, not less credible nor less in accordance with known facts than the result attained by the expedients resorted to on the basis of 809.

It is apparently confirmatory of this suggested solution that in twice giving an account of his reign from its beginning to its seventeenth year, Tiglath makes no mention of this tribute, either of Rezin or Menahem, nor does the name of Azariah therein appear. In the inscriptions attributed to him, but to which his name as author is in no way affixed, in which these names appear, there seems to be no attempt at chronological order, nor any date given to the several matters described as affecting Northern Israel, but simply a purpose to state that fact that at some time and place certain things had been done by him or under his authority, among other things he had taken tribute from Rezin and Menahem, and

had had some relations to do with Azariah, but when, and in the latter case what, is not clearly indicated. It is, however, certain that when he gives a list of tributary kings and states, he does not number among them Azariah, nor does he include the kingdom or a king of Judah among them until the list appears in which Ahaz is found as king of Judah, under the cognomen of Ja-u-ahaz (*i.e.*, the Ja-u- whose proper name was Ahaz). This long continued struggle for the mastery well justified Hosea in twitting the northern kingdom with its having been cheated by this adventurer, fittingly nicknamed "Jareb," "the struggler," "the combatant." It may be confessed that as to Azariah, the referring this name to the "son of Tabeel" is preferable, and the above suggestions as to this king are made simply as possible alternatives, if the suggestions of Dr. Oppert and of his distinguished pupil, Lenormant, are rejected.

Attention may now be given Rodwell's note that the inscription of Assur-nasir-abal may "refer to the eclipse of the 13th July, 885, 122 years earlier than that of 763" (*Records of the Past*, Vol. III, p. 43). For if there was an eclipse at that time, the method and data used by Dr. Oppert will confirm the 763 date just as satisfactorily as that of 809, if it is true, as is claimed by Schrader and others, that the year of the king's accession antedated his eponym two years; for both computations admit 120 eponyms between the eponym year of Assur-sezib-ani and the date of whichever eclipse is taken as the basis, differing only in the time between the king's eponym and his accession, Oppert allowing only one year, others, as above stated, claiming two years. Thus, taking two years, Oppert's date for the accession is 931, when it is not claimed that there was an eclipse, while on the 763 basis the date would be 885, the year of an eclipse. On the other hand, allowing only one year, gives 930, the year taken by Oppert, when the eclipse occurred, but given on 763 basis 884 when there was no eclipse. It is on this ground that Oppert claims that the eclipse of 809, in the eponomy of Purilsagali, is the true basis compute—the true starting point for chronological exactness. But it still remains to be proven that the invariable rule was one year as is assumed by Dr. Oppert, whose Assyrian king list is computed on this theory down to Tiglath-pileser, whose eponymy (743) was two years (745) after his accession.

The case of Shalmaneser III, however, seems to lend strong confirmation to Dr. Oppert's theory, for the first battle of Qarqar

was fought in his sixth year, in the eponomy of Dan-asur, on the 763 basis, B.C. 884. Obviously, on this theory and basis, the accession year must be put at 859, and not, as Schrader has it, at 860; this use of one year, with the 46 years' "gap," gives on the 800 basis 930, the eclipse year, as the accession year of Assurnasirabal. This difference is a matter in which "biblicists" are more or less interested, but which chiefly concerns Assyriologists, and must be by them finally settled if certainty is to be attained.

Believing with Dr. Oppert that "all different systems concerning as well Assyrian as Judean history, which are in contradiction to the biblical statements must be rejected," and "strictly respecting the written numbers," and that "we must bow to these statements, because the men who wrote them were better instructed than we are, who, apart from their testimony, could know nothing about the honestly transmitted tradition;" attention may now be given to the actual treatment which the "written numbers" have received.

We take up the case of Ahab. The Bible gives him twenty-two, Dr. Oppert twenty years (920–900). At the close of 901 B.C. he had reigned his full 20 years, and Shalmaneser his full five years. Now the battle of Qarqar was fought in 900 B.C., Shalmaneser's sixth year. In his last year Ahab was at war with Syria, and was slain in battle at the siege of Ramoth-gilead. Construing Oppert's figures strictly, this was in the year before the Qarqar battle, and it seems utterly incredible that in that last year of his life Ahab could possibly have crowded into it so much as he is represented to have done, if this battle is to be added to the biblical account, even on the assumption that his last year was contemporaneous with Shalmaneser's sixth year. Had the biblical numbers or reign of twenty-two years been taken, no incredibility could have attached to the story.

In his eighteenth year Shalmaneser reports that he received tribute from "Ja-u-a," son of Omri, assumed to be Jehu, the son of Nimshi. This is probably a mistaken identification. Ahab was succeeded by Ahaziah, who reigned two years, shortened by Oppert to one year. Joram, his successor, is accorded twelve years. Now on the assumption that Ahab was at the battle of Qarqar in Shalmaneser's sixth year (B.C. 900), and died the same year, we have for the subsequent reigns between Ahab and Jehu, according to Oppert, Ahaziah one and Joram twelve to thirteen years, which brings us to B.C. 837 according to Oppert the nineteenth year of Shalmaneser. On this

count the tribute was paid one year before Jehu began to reign. If we take the biblical number for Ahab, we have for him, after the battle of Qarqar, two years, for Ahaziah, two years, for Joram, twelve years $(2+2+12)=16$ years, bringing the date of the beginning of Jehu's reign to 884 B.C.; so that on this calculation Israel paid the tribute four years before Jehu was its king. By an accurate use of these figures, indeed, it seems to be shown that on neither of these schemes does it appear that Jehu could have paid tribute in Shalmaneser's eighteenth year, since according to neither was he king in that year.

It has already been herein suggested that Ja-u had about the same relation to the proper names of the kings of both Israel and Judah, that Pharaoh had to the proper names of Egypt's kings, being found as a prefix (Jeho, *i.e.* Ja-u) or suffix (iah, jah) to the names of many of the kings of both kingdoms, so that Shalmaneser may have intended to say that he received tribute from the Ja-u who then ruled over the land of Omri, without giving his personal name, the full name being readily found by reference to Israel's history at that date to be Jehoahaz (Ja-u-Ahaz).

If it can be shown that it had not been always before Tiglath-pileser "a rule without exception that the king himself occupied the office of the annual officer" (eponym) "the year after his accession which took his name," it need not be difficult to synchronize the biblical chronology on the 763 basis. For this purpose some of Dr. Oppert's suggestions might, perhaps, be used to advantage, and harmony be secured somewhat as below briefly outlined.

Reject the theory that "Ahab the Sirlite" was "Ahab the Israelite." Let "Ja-u-a, son of Omri," be identified as the Ja-u reighing at that date over the land once dominated by Omri, viz., Jehoahaz. For the eleven years of Jeroboam, accept the Syrian irruption, or count the "gap," as due to the existence of anarchy or civil war, either before or after the accession of Zachariah. Let Pul be accepted as the rebel leader of the revolt in the city of Asshur in the reign of Assur-dan, contemporaneously with Menahem and Azariah, and that he made this raid into Israel and probably into Judea for the replenishing of his funds; that for eighteen years he struggled against the reigning dynasty, and at length succeeded in their overthrow; "placed himself" upon the throne, and reigned under the assumed name of Tiglath-pileser, his former and real name Pul (Porus or Pulu) appearing only in the Babylono-Assyrian

record, when late in his reign he assumed the personal functions of governor of Babylonia for two years. Let the synoptic history of Hosea be interpreted as developed in the subsequent biblical detail, in the sense that, in the twentieth year of Jotham's official life or service, he conspired against Pekah, and, after a nine years' conflict, completed his purpose by the murder of Pekah, and, seizing the throne, reigned in his stead.

Begging indulgence for this trespass upon your patience and attention,

I am respectfully and sincerely yours,

JOSEPH HORNER.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 1st November, 1898, at 8 p.m.

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,, II, ,, 1	8 0	10 6	,, VII, ,, 1	7 6	10 6
,, II, ,, 2	8 0	10 6	,, VII, ,, 2	10 6	12 6
,, III, ,, 1	8 0	10 6	,, VII, ,, 3	10 6	12 6
,, III, ,, 2	8 0	10 6	,, VIII, ,, 1	10 6	12 6
,, IV, ,, 1	10 6	12 6	,, VIII, ,, 2	10 6	12 6
,, IV, ,, 2	10 6	12 6	,, VIII, ,, 3	10 6	12 6
,, V, ,, 1	12 6	15 0	,, IX, ,, 1	10 6	12 6
,, V, ,, 2	10 6	12 6	,, IX, ,, 2	10 6	12 6

PROCEEDINGS.

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,, XVI,	Parts 1 to 10,	1893–94	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVII,	Parts 1 to 8	1895	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVIII,	Parts 1 to 8	1896	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XIX,	Parts 1 to 8	1897	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XX,	In progress	1898	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6

A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

Sixth Meeting, 1*st November*, 1898.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., ETC., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

The President announced with regret the loss suffered by the Society, by the death of one of the most distinguished of its Honorary Members, PROFESSOR GEORG EBERS. Born March 1st, 1837. Died, August 7th, 1898.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Richard Bennett, Esq. History of Corn Milling; Handstones; Slade and Cattle Mills. London and Liverpool. 1898.

From R. A. Rye, Esq. :—Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt. By Flinders Petrie. London. 1898.

——— Les Hypogées Royaux de Thébes Par G. Maspero. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.* 1888.

——— sur l'Ennéade, bulletin critique de la religion égyptienne. Par G. Maspero. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.* 1892.

——— Les Forgerons d'Horus. Par G. Maspero. *L'Anthropologie.* Juillet and Août. 1891.

——— Le Temple Égyptien. Par M. de Rochemonteix. *Revue Internat. de l'Enseignement.* July, 1887.

From the Author :—G. Maspero. *Extrait du Journal des Savants.* April, 1897, Feb. et Mar., 1898. Containing notices of the Petri Papyri, and Wills in Ancient Egypt by F. Ll. Griffith.

From the Author :—Prof. A. Wiedemann. La Stèle d'Israel et sa Valeur Historique. Bonn.

——— Zwei ägyptischen Statuen des Museums zu Leiden. *Orient. Litt-Zeit.* 1898. 8vo.

From the Author :—Prof. Lefébure. L'Animal typhonien. Les noms Égyptiens des Principaux viscères. *Sphinx,* II, 2. 1898. 8vo. (2 pamphlets.)

From the Publishers :—B. G. Teubner. Die Gewichte des Alterthums nach ihrem zusammenhange dargestellt. Von Friedrich Hultsch. No. 2. 1898.

From the Author :—Rev. P. A. Cesare de Cara, S.J. Gli Hetheipelagi in Italia, Gli Itali della Storia. Enotri-Itali-Siculi.

———— Siculi-Enotri-Itali.

———— Siculi-Sicani-Liguri-Oschi Morgeti.

———— Opici-Ausoni-Aurunci-Aborigeni. *Civilta Cattotica.* 1898. (4 Parts.)

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 6th December, 1898.

Stanley Arthur Cook, B.A., 60, Rathcoole Avenue, Hornsey, N.

W. T. Granville Lewis, Talbot Chambers, Shrewsbury.

Rev. Colin Campbell, The Manse, Dundee.

A paper was read by the President, entitled, "Assyriological Notes, New Light on the Hittite Inscriptions."

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Thomas Tyler, Mr. S. A. Cook, Mr. J. Offord, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches Rev. J. Margoliouth, the Secretary, and the President.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES. No. 4.

By Professor A. H. Sayce (*President*).

(I.) M. Chantre has just published an account of his *Mission en Cappadoce* in the years 1893 and 1894, and a very important work it is. In fact it seems to me one of the most important works from an archæological point of view that have appeared for many years. The discoveries made at the two Hittite centres of Boghaz Keui and Euyuk have thrown new and unexpected light not only on the archæology of Asia Minor, but also on many of the problems connected with the early civilisations of Western Asia and Egypt. No trouble has been spared to make the volume as complete as possible, and the plates of inscriptions and other monuments with which it is enriched enable the archæologist to study the objects that have been found quite as effectually as if he were in the Musée Guimet in which they have been placed.

Among the objects disinterred by M. Chantre and his wife at Boghaz Keui are numerous fragments of cuneiform tablets. They are quite distinct from the Kappadocian cuneiform tablets of Gyül Tepé near Kaisarîyeh, of which specimens are given in the *Proceedings* of this Society for last November, and while some of them are in Semitic Assyrian, others are in an unknown language which we may presume was that of the district in which Boghaz Keui is situated. In other words it was the language of the country in which stood one of the chief Hittite cities, and where Hittite sculptures and inscriptions have been met with. We may conclude therefore that in these fragmentary cuneiform texts we have at last lighted on the mysterious and long-sought language of the Hittite hieroglyphs.

A short study of the texts revealed to me a fact, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated. Not only are the forms of the characters used in them the same as those which we meet with in the letter of Tarkhundaraus of Arzawa, found at Tel el-Amarna and

transliterated by me in the *Proceedings* of this Society for November, 1897 (pp. 281–284), the language of the texts is the same as that of the letter from Arzawa. Thus the Boghaz Keui texts contain the word *kid-da-an-zi* (Chantre, p. 54, No. 7, 4), which figures in the Arzawa letter, line 20, where my transcription of the sign *kid* by *u* (?) must be corrected, the Boghaz Keui inscriptions showing that it is the Assyrian character *kid*. The character which I have read *kid* or *kit* must consequently be regarded as representing the syllable *kat*, the Assyrian sign with which it corresponds having both phonetic values (*kit* and *kat*).

The discovery that the language of Arzawa and that of Boghaz Keui were the same, and that the same form of cuneiform script was used in each, throws a flood of light on the Hittite question. To me it is particularly gratifying, since as far back as 1889, when I published the first transcripts and translations of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in the *Proceedings* of this Society (June, 1889), I said of the language of the letter from Arzawa that "I suspect (it) to be a Hittite dialect," and pointed out that the name of the Hittites occurs in it. Since then Dr. Winckler has shown that another, but unfortunately much mutilated, letter from Tel el-Amarna, which is in the same language, and is now preserved at Berlin, contains the words *Kha-at-ta-na-as* SARRU-*us*, which must signify "the king of the Hittites" (*Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen: Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna* III, No. 238, line 15).

Now I have discovered the same ethnic title, *Khatâna* or "Hittite," in one of the Boghaz Keui texts copied by Dr. Scheil. Here it is written *Kha-ta-a-na-(ta)*, where the final *ta* may be either a suffix or belong to the next word (Chantre, p. 60, line 3).* All this justifies me in concluding that I was right when in those long-past days, when I had not as yet become a "veteran," and the younger Assyriologists and "Hittologists" of to-day were still at school, I laid down in my Memoir on the *Monuments of the Hittites* (1) that Boghaz Keui was a Hittite capital, and (2) that the name

* *Khatâna-ta* is followed by *a-ba* (not *a-ma*) *khal-lim*. *Khallim* is also found in Chantre II, p. 5 (p. 49), and *aba* I would explain by *aba-klês*, the title of the High-priest at Komana, which I have long since analysed into *aba-kalê*, "the chief of the *galli*-priests." In another text communicated by Dr. Scheil (II, 5, Chantre, p. 61) we have *kha-ta-an*, which may be "Hittite," while in the list of cities (Chantre I, 14, p. 47) one of the names is Kha-at-tu-si-pa, with which the name of the king Khattu-sar must be compared.

"Hittite" was that by which the nation or race which inhabited it was known both abroad and at home.

Whether Arzawa were the native name of Boghaz Keui has yet to be learned. The name reminds us of that of Ouarsapa in Armenia Minor mentioned by Ptolemy. But in any case the inhabitants of Arzawa and Boghaz Keui must have belonged to the same race, or at all events have spoken the same language, and were probably subjects of the same king.

The similarity in the forms of the cuneiform characters and the words they embody in the Arzawa and Boghaz Keui texts imply that the latter belong to the Tel el-Amarna age or about 1400 B.C. We thus have a chronological starting point for the objects found at Boghaz Keui as well as an explanation of the Egyptian influence upon Hittite art visible, for example, in the sphinxes of Euyuk. What relation existed at the time between the Hittites of Boghaz Keui and Arzawa on the one side and the Hittites of Syria whose king Sapalulme wrote to the Egyptian Pharaoh in the Babylonian language, as Dr. Knudtzon has discovered, is a question which cannot be answered at present.

But one thing is clear. Solid ground has at last been reached from which to attack the still undeciphered Hittite hieroglyphs. A comparison of the suffixes used in the hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts will enable us to determine the phonetic values of some at least of the Hittite characters and to break up the inscriptions into their grammatical parts; the reading, moreover, of the words of the Hittite vocabulary is given us by the cuneiform texts. One of these may be mentioned here. A Boghaz Keui text copied by Dr. Scheil contains the mutilated line . . . *arsi ya-an-zi-an la-li* . . . In the Arzawa letter *uwa-danzi* ("he asks"), *uwanzi* and *kiddanzi* ("an embassy") are found in the sense of "requesting" or "sending a mission," but it is more probable that the *yanzi* of Boghaz Keui has nothing to do with them, and that its explanation is to be sought elsewhere. Prof. Delitzsch in his *Sprache der Kossäer* (pp. 29–35) has shown that the Kassite word *yanzi* "king" was known, not only among the Kassites and the people of Namri, but also in Khupuskia on the frontiers of Ararat. I have long suspected that like the name of Tessub or Teisbas, the Air-god, it had a still further extension towards the west. We find it, I believe, in the name of the Cappadocian city of Nazianzos, which is compounded with the same *nazi* as meets us in the names of Tarkhu-nazi king of

Malatiyeh, in the reign of Sargon, and of the city of Tarma-nazi in the land of the Patinâ (or rather Khattinâ) on the Gulf of Antioch. The broken line of the Boghaz Keui text I would therefore translate "... arsi the king." Perhaps the mutilated name is Alud-khukharsi, which is found in one of the Cappadocian tablets communicated by Dr. Scheil (Chantre, p. 95). *Lali* in the Arzawa letter signifies "I sent," and appears in the Berlin tablet under the form of *lauli*. A list of Cappadocian cities discovered at Boghaz Keui contains the words *amelu* GIS PA *lali* which may mean "the scribe I sent" (Chantre, p. 47, line 15).*

(II.) This same list of cities has, in the line preceding that which I have just quoted, the words BIT AN SARRU-*us* ALU A-ri-in-na-aś ALU *Kha-at-tu-si-pa*, "the temple of the deified king" (or "the Beth-el of the king) of the city of Arinna, the city of Khattu-sipa." Arinna seems to be the Arenna of the Treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, an image of whose Sun-god is stated to have been engraved in the centre of the seal which accompanied the Hittite version of the treaty. Khattu-sipa, like the name of the king Khattu-sar, is evidently compounded with that of the supreme "Hittite" god; the second element *sipa* may perhaps be compared with the first element in the name of Sapa-lulme. The list must have been drawn up for purposes of taxation, as at the end of the first catalogue of cities we have the ideograph of "corn" or "seed" repeated seven times. After the name of each city comes the suffix or postposition *-il* (which also occurs in the Arzawa letter, line 13), and must signify "from," while the catalogue concludes with the ideographs QA NER, "600 ephahs." Consequently the sense of the whole text will be: "From such and such cities 600 ephahs of corn-seed."

(III.) Various attempts have been made to explain the origin of the Babylonian form of the Assyrian character ⟩⟨ *en*, but without success. No one seems to have noticed that the mystery is cleared up by a votive limestone tablet of Ur-Enlil given in

* The whole line reads KUR AMELU GIS-PA *la-li zir-ri ki-is-ta* AN AS-SUR-*a-i*. *Zirri* is found in the Arzawa letter (l. 32) in the word *zir-ri-li-ya-as-sa*, and *kis-ta* may be connected with *kissa-rissi*, which must signify "by means of," or something similar in the same letter (l. 27). We get the termination *-ai* in the word *khat-khatrai* (W. and A. 238. 13), which follows the preposition EGIR, "after." *Kis-ta* AN AS-SUR-*a-i*, therefore, seems to mean, "by the hand of an Assyrian."

fascimile by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, I, 2, plate XVI, No. 37, where the *en* in the name of Ur-Enlil is represented by the picture of an arm and clenched hand holding an instrument of this shape ⟩—. The character must originally have denoted "power," and have resembled the Egyptian hieroglyph *nekht*. Similarly the origin of the character  "a hand" is shown to have been the picture of an arm and clenched hand in which is held either a fringe of leather, or more probably the outstretched fingers of another hand.

(IV.) Dr. Lehmann's recent work, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung*, has directed my attention once more to the subject of the Babylonian chronology as understood by the native historians and more especially the compiler of the Dynastic Tablet, first made known by Mr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of this Society, 1884, pp. 193–220. Dr. Lehmann's publication of this tablet is the latest, and his examination of the dates contained in it may be considered final.

Two important corrections it seems must be made in the reading of the numerical ciphers as first announced. The 4th dynasty, that of Isin, lasted $132\frac{1}{2}$ years and not $62\frac{1}{2}$, and the number which precedes the ideograph PAL or "dynasty" after the dynasty of Nabonassar is 22 and not 31.

Dr. Lehmann, however, has followed his predecessors in misunderstanding what the last-mentioned date really means. PAL signifies "dynasty," not "kings" or "years," and the correct translation of the line is "22 dynasties at Babylon." That is to say, the compiler of the tablet believed that 22 dynasties had reigned at Babylon since the Flood—or possibly since the time of Aloros, the first antediluvian king—down to the period when a new era began. This era was known to the astronomers as that of Nabonassar; to the compiler of the tablet, however, it more probably meant the period when the government of Babylonia passed out of the hands of the native Babylonians into those of the Assyrians. Kin-ziru of Sapî is counted by him along with Pulu or Tiglath-pilesser III of Assyria; with Nebo-sum-yukin, the grandson of Nabonassar, the old order of things had come to an end. The 22 dynasties were probably enumerated on the tablet of which George Smith published a fragment in the *Transactions* of this Society, III, 2, pp. 361–379.

There are several synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian history, especially during the period of the Kassite dynasty, but it

has hitherto been difficult to reconcile them with the statements of the Dynastic Tablet. This is mainly due to the fractures of the latter, which have caused lacunæ in the list of kings. But it is also due to the fact that the name of one of the kings of the Kassite dynasty has been misread.

This is the name of the 26th king, which has hitherto been supposed to be Gisammeti. Mr. Pinches, however, has pointed out to me that this is a mistake and that the true reading is Ku-dhur-[Bel]. Now according to Nabonidos (W.A.I., V, 64, 27–30) Sagarakti-buryas the son of Kudur-Bel had worked at the temple of the Sun-god in Sippara 800 years before his own restoration of it and consequently about 1345 B.C. As the Dynastic Tablet makes Sagarak[ti-bury]as the successor of Kudur-Bel, it is evident that Nabonidos believed the 27th Kassite king to have reigned about B.C. 1340, and consequently that the Kassite dynasty came to an end 80 years after the end of his reign of 13 years, or about 1260 B.C.

On the other hand, Sennacherib tells us that when he captured Babylon he recovered a seal which commemorated the conquest of that city by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Bir 600 years previously. Seven years later the Assyrians were driven out of the country and Babylonia recovered its independence under Rimmon-sum-uzur the 31st of the Kassite kings. Between the death of Sagarakti-buryas and the accession of Rimmon-sum-uzur the Dynastic Tablet places an interval of only 17 years, and since Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon took place in B.C. 689, we should have for the death of Kudur-Bel B.C. 1319 (or 1320) instead of about B.C. 1345.

The dates given by both Nabonidos and Sennacherib are, however, in round numbers, and therefore must not be pressed too closely. It is different with the date given by Sennacherib in the rock-inscription of Bavian for the capture of the images of the gods Rimmon and Sala in the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, by Merodach-nadin-akhê king of Babylonia. This is 418 years before the date of the Bavian inscription, or 1106 B.C. Merodach-nadin-akhê, it has long been recognised, must have been one of the 11 kings of the dynasty of Isin, which followed that of the Kassites, and of which only three names have been preserved—not very perfectly—in the Dynastic Tablet. If Kudur-Bel died in B.C. 1320, the accession of the dynasty of Isin which happened 92 years later would have taken place in B.C. 1228, and the dynasty would have come to an end in B.C. 1096 or 10 years after the date assigned to Merodach-

nadin-akhê. The dates given by Sennacherib are therefore consistent with one another, but they cannot be harmonised with the round number of 800 years given by Nabonidos, as this would assign the end of the dynasty of Isin to about B.C. 1130. Nor can it be very easily harmonised with the Dynastic Tablet, since the king who would have been reigning in B.C. 1106, supposing the dynasty to have ended in B.C. 1096, seems to have been Merodach-sapik-zer-mati, though it is true that only the first element in his name—Merodach—can be read with certainty.*

Provisionally, however, we may accept B.C. 1228 as the date of the fall of the Kassite dynasty, always remembering that it may be from 15 to 20 years too high. This would give us B.C. 1805 as the date of the accession of the Kassite dynasty, and B.C. 2365–2310 for the reign of Khammurabi, according to the Dynastic Tablet. As Nabonidos states that one of the Kassite kings, Burna-buryas by name, reigned 700 years after Khammurabi, we should have B.C. 1650 as the date of his reign. But this will not suit the Burna-buryas who corresponded with Amenophis IV of Egypt about B.C. 1400, and there must consequently have been an earlier king of the same name. Unfortunately the names of about half the Kassite kings have been lost in the Dynastic Tablet, so that neither Burna-buryas is preserved in it.

If we follow the chronology of the Dynastic Tablet it will have been towards the end of the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Khammurabi, that the Elamite king Kudur-nankhundi made the raid into Babylonia, in the course of which, according to Assur-bani-pal, he carried away from Erech the image of the goddess Nana which was recovered by Assur-bani-pal 1635 years afterwards. It has usually been assumed that an Elamite conquest of Babylonia is here referred to. This, however, is by no means necessarily the

* The "Synchronous History" makes Merodach-sapik-zer-mati the contemporary of Assur-bel-kala, and adds that he was murdered by Rimmon-baladan, who seized the throne and married his daughter to the Assyrian king. The Dynastic Tablet, however, takes no notice of Rimmon-baladan, and, as I have pointed out in the *Proceedings* of this Society for February, 1897, Merodach-nadin-akhê, and not Merodach-sapik-zer-mati, seems to have been the immediate predecessor of Nabo-nadin (the Nabonnadus of Berossus), the last king of the dynasty of Isin. It is probable, therefore, either that Merodach-sapik-zer-mati and Rimmon-baladan were illegitimate sovereigns who are omitted by the compiler of the tablet, or that the Assur-bel-kala who had dealings with them was not the son of Tiglath-pileser I of that name, but a later Assyrian king.

case. In fact had it been so, we should have heard of the capture of Babylon, which was at the time the capital of the country. The Elamites not unfrequently made raids into Babylonian territory, surprising and plundering some of its towns, and the carrying off of the image of Nana was similar to the carrying off of the images of Rimmon and Sala by Merodoch-nadin-akhê. It implied nothing more than a single raid.

It must, however, be remembered that we cannot trust implicitly the dates given by the compiler of the Dynastic Tablet. A text recently published by the Trustees of the British Museum throws doubt on the accuracy of the regnal years he ascribes to the kings of the Ist dynasty of Babylon (that of Khammurabi). The text consists of chronological tables drawn up in the reign of Ammizadok, the fourth successor of Khammurabi, and as the tables record the events of each year, their testimony is unimpeachable. Now between the Dynastic Tablet and the newly-found annals there are serious discrepancies. In the annals Sumu-abi, the founder of the dynasty, is made to reign 14 years instead of 15; his successor, Sumu-la-ilu, 36 years instead of 35; Sin-muballidh, the father of Khammurabi, 20 years instead of 30; Khammurabi himself 43 years instead of 55; and his son Samsu-iluna 38 years instead of 35. A possible explanation of the discrepancies may be found in the supposition that the compiler of the Dynastic Tablet has included in the reigns of those whom he regarded as legitimate kings the reigns of princes like Pungun-ilu, Immerum the son of Lilium, and Eri-Aku or Arioch, of whom we hear in the contract-tablets, and whom he regarded as illegitimate; he has certainly done so in the case of the Kassite dynasty, where the seven years' reign of the Assyrian conqueror Tukulti-Bir is included in the 30 years' reign of Rimmon-sum-uzur. This, however, will not explain the 38 years' reign of Samsu-iluna in place of the 35 assigned to him in the Dynastic Tablet.

(III.) Among the fragments of tablets from the library of Nineveh which are now in the British Museum, there is one, K 4541, to which I drew attention in the *Academy* some years ago. Dr. Bezold has published the greater part of the third column contained in it in his *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection*, p. 640, though his copy needs correction in one or two places. I give here for the first time a complete copy of all that is left of the text. As will be seen, this consists of the ends of the lines in the second column, and a considerable portion of the third column.

The following is a transliteration and translation of the text so far as it has been preserved :—

Obv. Col. II. . . . . yu-tar
. . . . *he restores*
. . . [Sir-] bur-la-KI
. . . . *the city of Lagas* (*Tello*)
. . . . da-as
. . . . . .
. . . . in-ni-ip-pu-us
. . . . *it was made*
. . . . MES yu - ka-an
. . *the* . . . . *he establishes*
. . . . BARA-MES
. . . . *the mercy-seats*
. . . . nu yu-tar
. . . . *he restores*
. . . . En-lil-KI
. . . . *the city of Nippur*
. . . . Ni-śi-in-KI
. . . . *the city of Isin*
. . . . in-ni-ip-pu-us
. . . . *it was made*
. . . . in-na-ad-di
. . . . *it was laid*

Col. III. 1. . . . [sarri ma-]akh-ri . . .
. . . *a former king* . . .
2. i-na pu (?) Bab-ili-[KI] [ekalla]
at the entrance (?) *of Babylon* [*a palace*]
3. e-pis ekallu sa-a-si i-nam-[bit]
built ; this palace was ruined ;
4. rubu su-u ma-ru-us-ta im-mar
this prince sickness saw (i.e., *fell ill*) ;
5. ul i-da-ab libbi-su
not good was his heart ;
6. a-di sar-ru-ti-su
as long as his reign lasted
7. takhazu u qablum
war and battle
8. ul ip-par-ra-śu
do not cease.

9. i-na pal su-a-tu akhu akha-su ikal
In this reign brother his brother eats;
10. nisi mari - si-na
men their daughters
11. a-na káspi imagaru
for silver sell.
12. Mati is-te-nis in - kas-sa-a
The lands together are destroyed.
13. Idlu ardata [iz-]zi-ib
The freeborn (his) concubine forsakes
14. u ardatu izzib idlu
and the concubine forsakes (her) master,
15. ummu eli marrata babi-sa id-dil
the mother against the daughter her gate bolts.
16. busu Bab-ili-KI
The goods of Babylon
17. a-na ki-rib Śu-ri-KI
into the midst of Messopotamia
18. u mat As-sur-KI ir-ru-ub
and Assyria go;
19. sar Bab-ili-KI
the king of Babylon
20. a-na rub As-sur-KI makkur ekalli-su
to the prince of Assyria the property of his palace
21. busu-su a-na ki-rib [As-sur-]KI
(*and*) *his goods to the midst of Assyria*
22. yus-te-rib . . . .
caused to go . . . .
23. a-di
up to

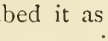
Who "the former king" of Babylon was whose unfortunate reign is the subject of the text we have no means of guessing. But he must have been one of the early rulers of the country. Assyria was not yet a kingdom; it was still governed by a "prince" and not by a "king." It is, moreover, conjoined with Śuri or Mesopotamia. This takes us back to an early period when the Babylonians included Assyria in Śuri, or at all events regarded it as the district around the old city of Assur on the west bank of the Euphrates, and therefore within the bounds of the land of Śuri. The "prince" of Assur was

nominally a vassal of Babylonia which claimed suzerainty over the whole of Mesopotamia.

According to the text Babylonia itself had fallen into such a condition of distress and famine, that its king sent his property northward to the "prince of Assyria" and deposited it in Assur and the land of Śuri. Perhaps this is but an euphemistic way of expressing the fact that Assyria had revolted from Babylonia and that its ruler, taking advantage of the famine in the latter country had invaded Chaldæa, had captured Babylon and carried away the spoil of the royal palace. However this may be, the description of the state of Babylonia is given in language which is identical with that used in the astrological tablets which were compiled in the time of Sargon of Akkad. The question therefore arises, whether our text in its original form does not go back to the same period? The mention of the Babylonian cities of Lagas, Nippur and Isin in the second column would support this view. On the other hand the astrological tablets know nothing of Assyria; the city of Assur in fact does not seem to have been founded at the time they were composed, while Babylon was not as yet the ruling city of Chaldæa. The last objection, however, may be met by the fact that after the rise of Babylon to imperial power under the dynasty to which Khammurabi belonged, the court scribes and historians endeavoured to prove that it had always been the chief city of the country, and that even the first of the antediluvian kings had been a native of it.

On the whole, then, I am inclined to believe that the king whose disastrous reign is here described was one of those who succeeded Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin, and that the overthrow of the empire of Sargon in Mesopotamia is referred to. The story, however, has been modified in accordance with the dictates of Babylonian national vanity, and its inclusion in the library of Nineveh was a result of the mention made in it of Assyria. The substitution of *mat Assur*-KI, "the land of Assyria," for an original *Assur*-KI, "city of Assur," may be due to the Assyrian copyist.

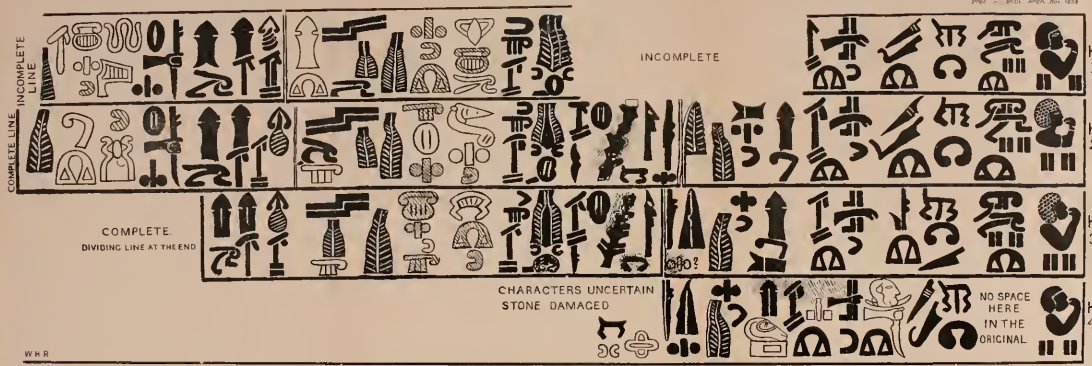
(IV.). In the contract-tablets we meet with names compounded with that of the god (𒀭) 𒌓𒆤, the reading of which has been hitherto uncertain. The question is settled, however, by a contract dated in the reign of Abil-Sin, the grandfather of Khammurabi, which has been translated by Peiser, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*. IV, p. 15. Here one of the witnesses is "Ikibum (or Jacob) the son

of A-bi-kha-ar." Abi-Khar is a parallel formation to names like Abijah in Hebrew or Abi-Samas in Babylonian, and signifies "my father is Khar." Khar, therefore, was a deity known to the Babylonian pantheon, and  must be read Khar or Khur. The name is identical with that of the Egyptian god Horus, and was, I believe, borrowed from Egypt. That Egyptian deities were adopted by the early Babylonians we know from a seal-cylinder published by Dr. Scheil, on which is the name of the god Anupum or Anubis.

V. The true pronunciation of the name of the Assyrian god who is generally known as Nin-ip is still doubtful. I showed long ago that the reading Adar proposed for it by some of the German Assyriologists was impossible, and my own suggestion that it should be read Uras has met with no better fate. Now, however, I believe that I have at last found a key to the reading of the name. In the Assyrian texts it is often represented by the character  , which has the values of *bar* and *mas*, and in the early days of cuneiform decipherment Sir Henry Rawlinson accordingly transcribed it as Bar. To this it was objected that the character when expressing the name of the god was probably used ideographically, and that consequently its phonetic value could afford no clue to the true pronunciation of the name. But after all, I think I can now show that Sir Henry Rawlinson's reading was not very far wrong. I have found in certain inscriptions the name of a god which is written *Be-ir*, *i.e.* Bêr, and who is associated with the greater deities of the Assyrian pantheon. Thus in a letter of Assur-yukin published by Harper: *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, IV, p. 458, the writer says: "May Assur, Samas, Bel, Nebo, Nergal, Laz, Isum, Rimmon, and Bêr, the great gods of heaven and earth, nine times over to the king my lord, to the son of the king of Assyria and to the son of the king of Babylon for ever and ever be favourable!" It does not seem likely that so important a god as "Nin-ip" should have been omitted in this enumeration of "the great gods," more especially as Nebo is coupled with Bel-Merodach and Laz with Nergal, and I am therefore inclined to believe that he is designated under the name of Bêr—a name which, it must be remembered, is not otherwise found among those of "the great gods." If the name was Bêr, we should have an explanation of the fact that the Assyrian scribes represented it by the character which had the phonetic value of Bar and the ideographic

signification of "brightness." That the god was also called Nin-ip is not excluded by the fact that his ordinary name was Bêr, and as I pointed out some years ago, the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia indicate that such was the case. In those we have the proper name Νιπέψ (at Jatapa) by the side of other names like Νάνεις (at Jatapa) and Νανά (at Jatapa) which have been borrowed from the names of Assyrian deities. Nana or Nanas is a female name, derived from the Assyrian Nana, like Νάνη (at Hamaxia) and Ναννοῦς (at Jatapa). Another Cilician name of similar origin is Νενάρις, the Assyrian Nannaru, which is found in an inscription from Hamaxia.

The plates for this paper will be issued with the December part of the *Proceedings*.



Inscribed Stones from Hamath

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By W. H. Rylands.

The President having referred to the possibility of dividing the words in the so-called Hittite language, it seemed to me that perhaps some assistance might be given by the diagram now submitted to the Society, prepared by myself some years ago. Of course, one of the first difficulties, in fact the greatest difficulty in the decipherment of an unknown language written continuously, is the separation of the characters into words. Of the many silly things that have been written and spoken about these inscriptions, few are sillier than the idea of depreciating the value of the Hamath Inscriptions on account of the late period at which they were carved. We must never forget the lateness of the Rosetta Stone, which has given us the key to the oldest Egyptian hieroglyphics. In my opinion, when it becomes possible to read with certainty the whole of the "Hittite" inscriptions, but few, if any of them, will be found to be of the great age which has been claimed for some of them.

It appears to have been assumed that because they are found to contain picture characters, more or less alike, that, therefore, all the inscriptions are composed in the same language. The wide separation of the districts in which they have been found suggests the idea that this is improbable, or at least, may not be the case. The same form of picture writing was evidently used over a large portion of the country, but it does not follow that the same language was at the same time employed in all the inscriptions, just as was the case with the cuneiform writing.

The value of the stones from Hamath appears to me to be, whatever their age may be, that we have a series of inscriptions from one place, and, therefore, almost certainly in one language. A series, which when arranged as they are in my diagram, make several points quite clear. In it I have disturbed the *boustrophedon* manner in which the lines are arranged in the originals, and so placed the lines that the characters may be read continuously from right to left. I have also placed similar characters in a vertical line, their position on the original stones not being disturbed. Those characters which occur in the same position in the different

inscriptions are made black; those which occur within the same group of hieroglyphics are crossed with diagonal lines, and those which occur only in one text are left white. From this arrangement it becomes clear that H. 1, 2, 3, contain much of the same text, commencing with *a regular formula*, which is a little changed in H. 4. It also seems probable that the blank in H. 1, which includes a portion of this formula, shows that a part of the inscription is wanting; this is, perhaps, made more likely by the fact that the last character in the first line is incomplete, like the half-formed hieroglyphic at the end of the third line. These blanks occur at the ends of the lines of the inscription where no dividing line is found. The blank may, however, be explained by the supposition that some part of the usual titles of the king have been omitted, including the two plume-like caps; the single head-dress being sufficient. If this should prove to be the case, some assistance would be obtained towards the division of the words.

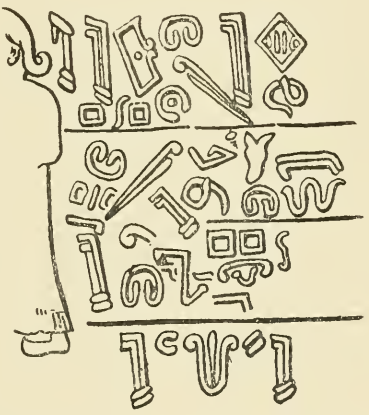
H. 2 and H. 3 are complete. In H. 2, the last line ends half way across the stone, the remainder of the stone being entirely uncut. In H. 3, the dividing bar at the end of the second line is clear, and a large portion of the stone below is untouched.

The characters inserted in the regular formula, it will be noticed, occupy the same position in the three first inscriptions, and are evidently additions to the main text: it seems almost impossible to suppose that these additions are other than the names of persons, things, or countries, names in fact in one form or other: in my opinion they are the names of persons and probably also countries. I cannot believe that these inscriptions, contain anything except some matter of an historical character, probably recording conquests: or some glorification of the king. It is impossible to believe that all the labour was taken to record gardening operations or anything equally simple.

It seems natural also to suppose that the first three inscriptions record something connected with one king, whose name lies hidden in the first part of the formula, probably before the two plumed caps at the end of the first lines of the stones: and it is worth noticing that this is the place in which an alteration in some of the characters is made in H. 4. The alteration in the position of some of the hieroglyphs only, suggests that the last inscription may refer to a king whose name bore a resemblance in part to the name of the king referred to in H. 1, 2, and 3.

It will be noticed also that a group of characters which occurs immediately after the opening word of the three first inscriptions is omitted in H. 4, after which the formula runs on the same in all, for one or two groups; this, with other points, might assist in the division of the lines into words: a matter too long to enter into at the present time. One thing seems, however, quite clear. Any system of interpretation which does not take into consideration the points made clear by the diagram, and does not reckon for all the characters found in the inscriptions, must be of no value whatever.

Mr. Offord having called my attention to an inscription, and very kindly obtained for me a sketch of a very interesting figure belonging to this class of antiquity, it may be well to add them in this place. As it happened in my own case, they may have escaped the notice of some of the Members.



The inscription has already appeared with notes by M. Menant in the *Bulletin of the French Academy* (T. xx, p. 329). The stone upon which it is cut in relief measures $0^{m.}$ 20 by $0^{m.}$ 40. A squeeze of it was sent by M. Alric, dragoman of the French Embassy at Constantinople, to M. Menant, who thus describes it. The original was discovered in the neighbourhood of Angora, or Malatiya: two human figures face one another, in profile, and between them is a table with legs forming an X ending in divided hoofs, the table being loaded with a double pile of offerings. The figures are of the same type and in the same dress as those found at Sinjerli. (Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, ii, p. 534.) They are beardless, the eyes coarsely cut in the middle of the cheek; the hair thrown back and held by a fillet, falls in curls on the neck. They are both clothed in long robes without folds, ornamented at the bottom with a deep fringe. Lastly, they wear boots with turned up toes.

The figure on the left is seated, resting his foot on a footstool, on a chair with a slightly raised back, in the form of an X, the feet ending in lion's paws; he raises a cup to his lips with his left hand,

his right hand being drawn back and grasping the "crooked" staff like that found at Eyuk and Boghaz-Keui.

The figure facing him is standing, and holds in his raised right hand some object, it may be a fruit (?), while in his left, held close to his waist he bears a symbol, except that it is reversed very similar to that held by the figure on the monument from Biredjik, now in the British Museum.

The Biredjik monument mentioned by M. Menant will be found figured in our *Transactions* (vol. vii, p. 250); it has seemed to me not unlikely that the object held in the hand of the figure is intended for a sceptre, baton, or club, probably an emblem of power, therefore, when reversed, it might signify submission.

"The whole composition," writes M. Menant, "brings to mind a bas-relief from Marash, published by Humann and Puchstein" (*Reisen in Kleinasien*, pl. xlv, No. 2, and xlix).

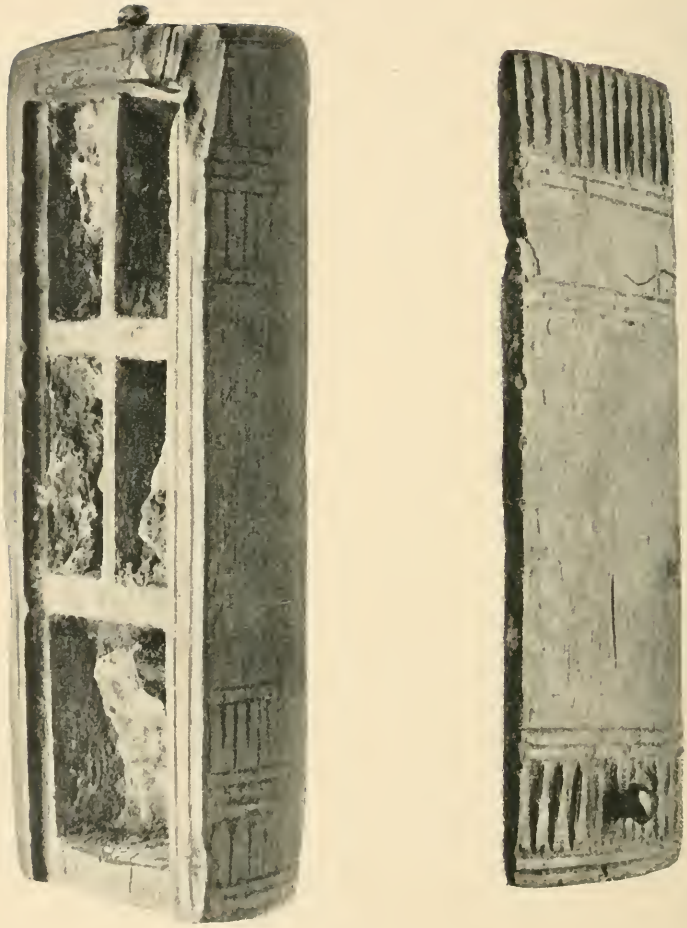
The above is only a short abstract of M. Menant's interesting notice: he then discusses the characters of the inscription, expressing the opinion that notwithstanding the want of knowledge as to the exact translation of the text, the general sense is the commemoration of an offering or an invocation to the god Sandu. He then offers some remarks in defence of the term Hittite, so often applied to these monuments; at the same time he points out that Puchstein objects to it, and has given the name *syro-asiatique* to those found at Sinjerli.

It seems to me that "Hittite" is nothing more than a good general title until we learn a better one, and that it is only slightly more correct than Hamathite.

Annexed are two views of the small golden figure, the same size as the original. It was also published by M. Menant in the Bulletin of the French Academy (vol. xxiii, p. 588). This beautiful and very characteristic figure was bought by M. Ernest Chantre from a jeweller at Yuzgat, he having obtained it from an Armenian of Cesarea, who bought it from a peasant. M. Chantre obtained it during his mission in Cappadocia.



M. Menant considers that it is most likely the representation of a god, and the sketch, which unmistakably shows the characteristics of the original, makes clear the condition of art when it was made.



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TOILET-BOX.

In the Collection of Walter L. Nash, Esq., F.S.A.

AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TOILET-BOX BELONGING TO W. L. NASH, F.S.A., WITH AN ANALYSIS OF ITS CONTENTS BY W. GOWLAND, F.C.S., F.S.A.

This toilet-box is made of a hard, brown-coloured wood, probably "Sont" wood, and is semi-cylindrical in shape. It has a sliding lid, which runs in grooves in the sides of the box. It measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. The interior is divided into five compartments, each containing an ointment, or rather, as Mr. Gowland says, a cosmetic. The ornamentation and the general appearance of the box are sufficiently shown by the accompanying illustration. A very similar box is figured in Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians." But the chief interest lies, not in the box, but in its contents.

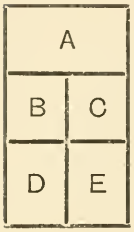
So far as I know, no complete analysis of an ancient Egyptian ointment has hitherto been published. I am told that Dr. Petrie gave an analysis of the fatty matter contained in jars he found in the "new race" tombs near Nagada, but I cannot find the reference. In Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," vol. ii (new edition), p. 401, *footnote*, is some account of Dr. Ure's examination of an ointment contained in a vase in the Alnwick Castle collection, but it can hardly be called an analysis.

Mr. Gowland's examination of the contents of this toilet-box is therefore specially interesting, as being a full analysis made by a competent chemist.

WALTER L. NASH.

ANALYSIS BY W. GOWLAND, F.C.S., F.S.A.

The materials, which resemble in appearance a hard ointment or plaster, are contained in an ornamental wooden box, divided into five compartments as shown in the diagram. With the exception of the material in compartment D, which is much decomposed and converted into a pulverulent mass, they are all very similar to one another, having the following characters: They are brown in colour, and of a rather hard consistence—nearly as hard as wax—and break with a dull, waxy fracture. They melt easily when heated, and when ignited burn with an aromatic, resinous odour, and a smoky flame. When rubbed on paper they give a waxy mark, not a greasy stain.



The material in A was specially examined, as it had apparently undergone less change than those in the other compartments. The results are as follows:—

Matter soluble in boiling alcohol (40·3 per cent. of which separated in cooling) .	94·25 per cent.
Residue insoluble in boiling alcohol .	5·75 „
Resinous matter soluble in cold alcohol .	56·3 „
Ash left by the material on ignition .	2·83 „

The amount of ash found is probably slightly greater than that actually present, as it was impossible to separate perfectly the earthy matter with which the material was covered.

The ash consists chiefly of calcium carbonate and phosphate, with sodium and potassium carbonates, silica, iron oxide, and alumina, all practically inert substances. No other metallic compounds were present.

The materials in the compartments B C and E were only qualitatively examined, but they were not found to differ much from A, and the ash of all had the same composition. The material in D differs, however, from all, in containing less wax and resin, but not in its ash. The deficiency in the former may be due to excessive decomposition. Originally all very probably contained

a small quantity of some fixed vegetable oil to give them a suitable consistence, but this has been converted by age into fatty acids, and cannot now be identified.

The results of the above examination indicate that they consist of mixtures of bees'-wax and aromatic resins with a small proportion of a vegetable oil; owing, however, to the changes which time has produced in their physical and chemical characters, it is impossible to say what resins or what oil was used in compounding them. Originally they were doubtless all perfumed, each with a different aromatic resin or essential oil, and this perhaps was the chief, probably the sole, difference between them. From their nature as revealed by the above examination, I think they were not intended for use as ordinary ointments, but as "cosmetiques" for stiffening portions of the hair, so that these might retain the curled or twisted forms given to them at the toilet. Or, it may be, they formed part of a doctor's visiting equipment for use as external dressings, not as ointments, but spread on linen and leather as plasters. The large quantity of wax which they contain precludes their use as incense.

A COPTIC "LETTER OF ORDERS."

By W. E. Crum.

The manuscript here published was bought of a Cairo dealer last winter. It consists of a strip of stout, yellow-brown, oriental paper, 21½ in. long by 7½ in. wide. Above the text is a slender cross, about 3½ in. high, in red, yellow, and black, on either side of which are a rosette and two fantastic birds in the same colours. In the four angles of the cross are the words ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡ̀ⲭ̀ⲥ ⲛⲓ ⲕⲁ̀ (*νίκα*). Below these is a horizontal line of small interlacing crosses similarly coloured. In the side margin of the text is one and in the lower margin are two birds, drawn and coloured like the rest. The script of the Coptic text, from l. 9 onwards, is that usual in the 14th century (*cf.* Hyvernat, *Album* LIII, 1 and 2), while ll. 2–4, 6–8 show the large, archaistic hand frequently used at the period for the initial lines of a text. Line 1 is in quite small characters; l. 5 in less small. The second at least of these appears to have been inserted after the rest of the text was written. The script of the Arabic version is tolerably regular. The letters generally have the points but are often not fully formed.

The text itself is a mediæval example of a Coptic "Letter of Orders," the testimonial to ordination received by every cleric from the bishop by whom he has been ordained.* It consists, in the present instance, of (1) a protocol, (2) the bishop's declaration of the completed ordination, with its date and the church to which the ordained is appointed, (3) the further declaration that the ordained is competent to officiate, (4) an invocation of God's blessing upon him, (5) the definition of his rank among his fellows.

* The only similar documents that I have found in the Catalogues are Paris, *Arab.* No. 316, from the Patriarch to a deacon, and *ib.*, Nos. 317–319, and Bodl., *Cat.* II, 475, from Patriarchs to churchwardens. Our text is considerably older than any of these.

Such a document is in Egypt called a *Taḳlîd*.* It corresponds in the Latin church to the *Littera Testimonialis*;† but it is difficult to ascertain by which term it is exactly represented among the Greeks. According to one canonist it would appear to be contained in the συστατικὴ γραφή, where it is combined with the recommendation of the ordained when abroad to the clergy of another diocese.‡ The Greek rituals mention, in each ordination, the paper (χαρτα) handed to the bishop by the registrar or archdeacon, and containing the preliminary declaration of the candidate's fitness, etc.; but no reference is made to the Letter of Orders, the reason presumably being that this is granted only after the orders have been conferred and the service ended, and that it therefore forms no integral part of the ritual.§

The words of ll. 6–19 are, it will be noticed, almost a repetition of those already pronounced in the service by archdeacon and bishop, and found thus in *MSS. Brit. Mus. Or.* 1323, fol. 21ª, and *Curzon* 144:—

ⲉⲡⲫⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲉⲁⲡⲉⲣⲭⲱⲟⲧϣⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲧϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲣⲑⲟⲇⲟⲝⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉ ⲉⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲇⲉⲛⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲉⲉⲡⲓⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲧⲁⲃ ⲁⲉⲉⲏⲛ.‖

Both Coptic and Arabic are here printed as they stand in the MS., a few points, vowels, etc., only being added in the latter.

* تقليد. Vansleb (*Histoire*, 163) uses this term with reference only to the consecration of the Patriarch. To-day, at any rate, it is applied equally to the documents received by the inferior orders and even by lay officers, *e.g.*, the ناظر or churchwarden (*v.* Bodl., *Cat.* II, 481 note). *Cf.* also Renaudot, *Hist.*, 488.

† Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca* (ed. 1844) VII, 470, Litt. testim. "fidem faciunt de susceptis ordinibus et carentia impedimenti canonici quod clericos a celebratione divinorum removeat."

‡ Balsamon in Chalced. XI (Migne, *P.G.*, 137, 425); *v.* also Chalced. XIII (*ib.*, 437). But Zonaras (*ll.*) had held the συστ. γρ. to be one merely exonerating its bearer from an accusation. Renaudot, *ll.* and *Lit. Or. Coll.* I, 460 ff., terms a document similar in intention to ours *Systatica*.

§ Since writing this I learnt from the Rev. Archimandrite A. Paraschis that the Greek church uses the term ἐνταλτήριον γράμμα. It must be noted that this scarcely agrees with the *Euchologion*, *ed.* Goar, 300. The συστατικὸν in that work, 395, comes perhaps nearest among printed formulæ to our document.

‖ *Cf.* Denzinger, *Rit. Or.*, II, 8, 9. Hatch, in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, 1507, remarks that such a formula is found now only in the Eastern churches. It bears some resemblance to the πρόκλησις in the Greek Pontifical (*ed.* Habert, 570).

ⲥⲧⲙ ⲑⲉⲱ ⲉⲕⲑⲉⲣⲁⲁⲡ ⲉⲗⲉⲏⲁⲁⲡ	بسم الله الروف الرحيم
ⲫⲛ ⲟⲛⲟⲁⲁⲧⲓ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲥ	بسم الاب
ⲕⲉ ⲧⲱ ⲧⲥ ⲕⲉ ⲧⲱ ⲁ	والابن والروح
ⲩⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲓ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲁⲓⲁⲛ	القدس الاله الواحد
5. ⲟ ⲉⲗⲁⲭ ⲫⲏⲗⲟⲑⲩ ⲡⲟⲗ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲕ, ⲗⲉⲩⲟⲩ	(*Blank.*)
ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲭⲏⲣⲏⲁⲱⲙⲓⲛ	كُرز
ⲁⲁⲡⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲁⲁ	الولد المبارك
ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ* ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲡⲓⲧⲟⲥ	الحبيب
10. ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲓⲥⲁⲏⲗ ⲇⲉⲡⲫⲟⲩ	غبريل ابن ميخائيل
ⲱⲱ ⲁⲁⲫⲧ ⲛⲉⲁⲁⲡⲧⲁⲁⲁⲧ ⲙⲙⲉⲕ	بارادة الله واتفاق الكنيسة
ⲗⲏⲣⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓ	شماساً كاملاً
ⲟⲥ ⲉⲭⲉⲛⲧ(*sic*)ⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲩⲓ	على بيعة الشهيد
ⲟⲥ ⲑⲉⲟⲗⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥⲧ	تادرس الامير غربى منشية
ⲥⲁⲡⲓⲁⲉⲛⲧ ⲡⲁⲁⲁⲛⲭⲓⲡⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ	النصارى
15. ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲉⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ† ⲇⲉⲛⲧⲱⲓⲭ	من يد حقارتى انا
ⲏⲧⲁⲁⲁⲉⲧⲁⲗⲁⲭ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲫⲏⲗⲟⲑⲩ	فيلاتاوس اسقف

ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ	المدينة الممدوحة اخميم
Ⲏⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲓⲍ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲃⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲛⲥ	فى اليوم السابع عشر من شهر بشنس
ϫⲣ ⲙⲙⲣ ⲇ,ⲟⲑ	من سنة الف تسعة وسبعة§ للشهدا الاطهار

* This, or the corresponding Arabic, seems to be the appropriate epithet of a deacon. In the *Admonition* وصية read to him at the conclusion of the ordination, he is addressed as الولد المبارك, while a presbyter is called "Brother" and a sub-deacon or reader "My Son" ابنى.

† Theodore Στρατηλάτης, son of John of Shutb, is celebrated on the 20th Epiphi. Nilles, *Kalendarium*[2] II, 697, identifies him with Theodore the Eastern (12th Tybi); but the Coptic church distinguishes them; *cf.*, besides the Synaxarium, Zoega, p. 56, Gizeh *MS. Copt.* 8021, Paris *MSS. arab.* 148 and 263. F. Görres, *Licinian. Christenverfolg.*, 185 ff., argues that Theodore the General is a fabulous martyr. No church of his near Aḫmîm is mentioned by Abû Ṣâliḥ or Maḳrizi.

‡ That this is really a place-name is probable from the existence of the two منشاة النصارى in the *Récencement* of 1884 and one in Maḳrizi *ed.* Wüstenfeld, p. 7, though neither are in the neighbourhood of Aḫmîm. The reading منشية for this ill-written word was suggested by Mr. A. G. Ellis, and that this varies with منشاة is clear from the منشاة اخميم of 'Abd al-Laṭîf (p. 701) which Ibn Duḳmâḳ (٦٨) and apparently Yaḳût calls منشية اخميم. But there is no evidence for identifying the latter locality with that in our text. A similar Coptic name would be ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲟⲱⲟⲩⲧ, Zoega, p. 18, in the eastern Delta, did the photogr. Hyvernat XL, 2 permit that reading. ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲟⲱⲟⲩⲧ, used in a more general sense in Zoega 74, is unfortunately not rendered in the Arabic version (*Ann. Mus. Guimet*, XVII, 384).

§ Read سبعين.

وصار له السلطان

من قبل وضع اليد عليه

ان يصنع ما يصنعون

الشماسة امثاله

الا السما يباركه

في جميع اعماله ويملأ

من كل فيما وحكمة

ويزيده بكل علما

ونعمة

ويجعله شريك

الميراث مع القديس

اسطافانوس رئيس هذه

الطغمة في الخدمة

الروحانية التي لله الكلمة واهب

العطايا العقلية

20. Ογοϩ ϧϣⲱⲙ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲣϥⲱⲡⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲗ ϧⲓⲧⲉⲛ†ⲙⲉⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⲉⲓϣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲙⲙⲉⲩⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲉⲩϩⲣⲏ†
Ⲩϕ† ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲥⲙⲉⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
25. ϧⲉⲙⲙⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲙⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲙⲁⲍϥ ⲛⲕⲁ† ⲛϭⲉⲛ
ⲙⲉⲙⲙⲁⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
Ογοϩ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲭⲣⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛⲉ
[ⲙⲙ]ⲓ ⲛϭⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲙⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲁ
30. Ογοϩ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲁϥ ⲛⲥⲩⲫⲏⲣ ⲛⲕ
ⲗⲓⲡⲟⲡⲟⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲙⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲥⲧⲉ
ⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲓⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁ
ϧⲉⲛ†ⲗⲁⲟⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲡⲁⲥⲧⲓⲕⲉ
ⲙⲙⲁⲫⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲩⲛ ⲛⲛⲁⲟⲣⲉⲁ ⲛⲛⲟ
35. ⲏⲣⲁ

ⲧⲅⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲧ ⲉⲥⲉⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓ	وسلام الرب
ϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ	يحل عليه وبركته ونعمته
ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϫⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉⲩ	يكونا معه الى الابد
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ	امين
40. Ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲁⲝⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲇⲉⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ	وطقسه فى الكنيسة
ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲱⲟ	يتبع مَن تقدمه
ⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉⲙⲛⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ	من الشمامسة
[ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲙⲙⲉⲝⲟⲛⲧⲁ* ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ	وهو مسعود ابن سليمان
ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛⲡⲓⲭⲁⲝⲓⲝ ⲉϫⲱⲩ	منذ وضع اليد عليه
45. Ⲅⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲉⲙⲙⲟⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲧ	والمجد والاكرام
ⲑⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲏⲏ ⲛⲟⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉⲩ	الثالوث المقدس المساوى
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ	الى الابد امين

* The letter ⲝ is rarely if ever thus heeded in Coptic transcriptions.

"With God (σὺν Θεῷ), the pitiful (οἰκτίρμων), the merciful (ἐλεήμων).
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God (ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Θεοῦ μίαν σἰϛ).

[I,] the humble (ἐλάχιστος) Philotheos of the town (πόλις) Panos [write] and say (λέγω);

The blessed [and] beloved (ἀγαπητός) son, Gabriel the son of Misael, has, by God's will and the consent of the clergy (κληρικός), been ordained (χειροτονεῖν) a full (τέλειος) deacon (ἰάκων) for the church (ἐκκλησία) of Saint (ἅγιος) Theodore the General (στρατηλάτης), on the west of the Meeting-place of the Christians, at the hand of my humility (ἐλάχιστος), Philotheos, the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) of the* town (πόλις) Panos, on the 17th day of the month Pachon, in the Era of the Martyrs (χρόνῳ μαρτύρων) 1079 (= A.D. 1363).

And he has power, through this laying-on of hands, to perform the acts which the deacons like him perform.

May the God of heaven bless him in all his works and fill him with all prudence and wisdom (σοφία) and establish him in all knowledge and [every] gift (χάρισμα), and make him co-heir (κληρονόμος) with the blessed Stephen, the leader (ἀρχηγός) of this order (τάγμα) in the spiritual (πνευματικός) service (λειτουργία) of the Giver of intellectual (νοερός) gifts (ἑωρεά). May the peace (εἰρήνη) of God be upon him, His blessing and His grace be with him for ever. Amen.

Now (δέ) his rank (τάξις) in the church [is that] from his consecration he follow him of the deacons that precedes him, namely Mes'oud, the son of Solomon; to the glory and honour of the holy, consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) Trinity (τριάς) for ever. Amen."

* The Arabic adds "celebrated" *or* "highly-honoured."

L'EXODE DES HÉBREUX.

Par J. Lieblein.

Selon l'opinion la plus répandue l'exode des Hébreux a eu lieu sous le règne de Ménephthès I, fils et successeur de Ramsès II. Pour ma part j'ai depuis longtemps cherché démontrer que cet événement tombait sous le règne d'Aménophis III qui d'après mon système chronologique régna 1355–1318 a. J.-C.* J'étais forcé de rejeter l'opinion générale sur ce point déjà par le motif que l'exode, par rapport à l'histoire des Israélites, était chronologiquement fixé, ayant lieu environ l'an 1320 a. J.-C., et que, par rapport à la chronologie égyptienne, le pharaon Aménophis III régnait pendant ce même temps. C'était une conséquence inévitable de tout mon système chronologique.

Mais plus je refléchis sur la question de l'exode hébreu, plus je suis persuadé d'avoir tombé juste. Cependant je ne peux ni veux pas ici approfondir la question dans tous ses détails. Renvoyant à ce que j'en ai dit dans les ouvrages cités plus haut, je me bornerai pour le moment à mettre en avant quelques nouveaux arguments qui me semblent fortement parler en ma faveur. Ce qui a égaré les savants, c'est que le texte biblique qui nous raconte ces événements, surtout celui qu'on appelle le texte de l'Élohiste, sans aucun doute a été rédigé aux temps de Ramsès II qui d'après moi régnait de 1180 à 1114 a. J.-C., c'est-à-dire environ deux cents ans après l'exode. Dans cette époque, depuis la fin de la guerre de Ramsès II contre les Khetti jusqu'à la mort de Ménephthès, la relation entre l'Égypte et la Syrie était très intime. L'influence politique, sociale et civilisatrice de l'Égypte dominait en Syrie, des Égyptiens y voyageaient et y demeuraient comme fonctionnaires, gouverneurs ou administrateurs, des idées, des mots et expressions comme des marchandises sont échangées entre les deux pays, et des lettres sont envoyées de l'un à l'autre.

* Lieblein, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 1863, p. 116–125, et *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne*, 1873, p. 136 sv.

Nous retrouvons les traces de cette influence dans les récits bibliques surtout dans ceux de l'Élohiste, et non seulement dans ceux qui traitent l'histoire du séjour des Hébreux en Égypte, où cette influence est assez naturelle, mais aussi dans d'autres parties des livres mosaïques. De là les mots et les expressions égyptiennes qui se trouvent souvent dans les livres du Pentateuque. De là la table généalogique des premiers patriarches que le chapitre v de la Genèse nous donne et qui probablement est faite d'après la chronologie égyptienne, telle qu'elle avait été fixée par l'école savante des historiens et chronologues égyptiens du temps de Ramsès II.* De là le récit du Déluge, fait de l'Élohiste dans les chapitres vii et viii de la Genèse, et formé, comme il semble, d'après le modèle de l'inondation du Nil. De là, enfin, le nom de Ramsès employé pour désigner un pays ou une ville. Cet emploi qui certainement n'était en usage qu'aux temps de Ramsès II est fait par suite d'un anachronisme dans Gen. xlvii, 11, où nous lisons: *la terre de Raamsès* comme nom du pays ailleurs appelé Gosen, et dans Exode i, 11, où Raamsès est le nom d'une ville qui antérieurement sans doute a porté un autre nom.

Les exemples cités de l'influence égyptienne sur le récit de l'Élohiste nous revèlent plus ou moins clairement le temps de Ramsès II.

Les noms: "la terre de Ramsès" (Gen. xlvii, 11), et "la ville de Ramsès" (Exode i, 11), sont dans cet égard sans équivoque. Tout le monde sait que nous avons un anachronisme dans le premier endroit (Gen. xlvii, 11); généralement on ne croit pas que c'est le cas dans le dernier endroit (Exode i, 11), mais je suis persuadé que nous y avons le même anachronisme, puisque Ramsès II régnait long temps après l'exode. M. Maspero a cependant fait une objection bien importante. Il dit: "Une conjecture très ancienne identifie avec Ramsès II le Pharaon qui n'avait pas connu Joseph (Exode i, 1.). Les fouilles récentes, en montrant que les grands travaux ne commencèrent à l'orient du Delta que sous ce prince, ou sous Séti I^er^ au plus tôt, confirment l'exactitude de cette tradition d'une manière générale."† Mais à ce sujet je me permettrai de faire une observation. Si le pays de Gosen, où Joseph "assigna une demeure à son père et à ses frères," était situé dans l'Ouady

* Lieblein, *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne*, p. 9 sv.

† Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, II, 442, note 2.

Tumilat, comme je le crois d'accord avec M. Naville,* et qu'il était le plus fertile, "le meilleur de l'Égypte," il s'ensuit avec nécessité, que l'Ouady Tumilat était canalisé, fertilisé, cultivé et par conséquent habité avant l'immigration de Jacob, c'est-à-dire aux temps des Hyksos au plus tard. Je soupçonne cependant que c'était déjà Amenemha III de la XII^e^ dynastie qui canalisait ce pays comme il l'avait fait au Fayoum. M. Naville a trouvé dans le temple de Boubastis, situé à l'entrée de cet ouady, plusieurs monuments des rois de la XII^e^ dynastie. Il dit: "Usertesen III, the greatest king of the dynasty, evidently desired to adorn Bubastis with a temple which might compete with his constructions in other parts of Egypt." Et plus bas il ajoute: "I believe that we must attribute to Usertesen III the foundation of what was the finest part of the temple, the hypostyle hall."† Il est donc bien probable, que les rois de la XII^e^ dynastie, antérieurs de beaucoup à Ramsès II, ont fait des travaux et des constructions, ont fondé des villes, creusé un canal, etc., dans la terre de Gosen.

Plus tard Thothmès III, selon moi l'oppresseur des Hébreux, fonda ou rebâtit la ville de Pithom et une autre ville, ci-après appelée la "ville de Ramsès."‡ Enfin Ramsès II, le grand bâtisseur qui fonda ou restaura ou s'appropria tant de monuments partout en Égypte, a laissé des traces de son activité aussi dans le pays de Gosen en appelant toute cette contrée et sa ville la plus importante de son nom "le pays de Ramsès" et "la ville de Ramsès." Ces noms étaient en vogue, quand le texte de l'Élohiste fut définitivement rédigé et furent par conséquent incorporés dans sa rédaction.

La table généalogique des premiers patriarches, depuis Adam jusqu'à Noé, qui semble être faite d'après la chronologie égyptienne, nous mène également aux temps de Ramsès II. Les deux tables de rois d'Abydos, la table de rois de Saqqarah et le papyrus royal de Turin, monuments qui tous commencent par Ménès et finissent, du moins les trois premiers, par Ramsès II, prouvent avec quelque vraisemblance que les savants égyptiens de l'époque de Ramsès II s'étaient occupés de l'histoire et de la chronologie de leur pays, et

* Naville, *The Route of the Exodus*, la carte.

† Naville, *Bubastis* (1887–1889), p. 9 et 10.

‡ Theophilus ad Aŭtolycŭm III, § 20: *Οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ παροικήσαντες ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ καταδουλωθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Τέθμωσις ᾠκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς, τήν τε Πειθὼ καὶ Ῥαμεσῆ καὶ Ὼν.*

qu'ils ont réussi à en ériger un échafaudage assez solide. Les temps paisibles et heureux du règne de Ramsès II qui suivirent la guerre avec les Khetti étaient plus qu'aucune époque antérieure favorables à ces études. Les résultats historiques et chronologiques, obtenus par les savants de Ramsès II étaient connus, quand l'Élohiste rédigea son texte ; il n'est donc rien de plus naturel, qu'il les acceptait et en faisait l'application pour chronologiquement fixer l'époque des premiers patriarches depuis Adam, en supposant que Ménès des Égyptiens et Adam des Hébreux étaient contemporains, et qu'ils commençaient tous les deux leurs séries respectives par l'an 3893 a. J.-C., comme un point de départ fixe.

Enfin il nous reste de parler de l'influence égyptienne sur le récit que l'Élohiste donne du déluge. Voici le récit, du moins ce qui nous en intéresse ici :

Gen. vii, 6. Et Noah était âgé de six cents ans quand le Déluge des eaux vint sur la terre.

V. 9. Elles entrèrent deux à deux vers Noah dans l'arche ; savoir, le mâle et la femelle, comme Dieu lui avait commandé.

V. 11. Et l'an six cent de la vie de Noah, au second mois, au dix-septième jour du mois, en ce jour-là toutes les fontaines du grand abyme furent rompues et les bondes des cieux furent ouvertes.

V. 13–15. En ce même jour-là Noah, Sem, Kham et Japhet, fils de Noah, entrèrent dans l'arche, etc.

V. 16. Le mâle, dis-je, et la femelle de toute chair y vinrent, comme Dieu lui avait commandé.

V. 18. Et les eaux se renforcèrent et s'accrurent fort sur la terre ; et l'arche flottait au-dessus des eaux.

V. 19. Et les eaux se renforcèrent prodigieusement sur la terre ; et toutes les plus hautes montagnes qui étaient sous tous les cieux furent couvertes.

V. 20. Les eaux s'élevèrent de quinze coudées plus haut ; ainsi les montagnes furent couvertes.

V. 21. Et toute chair qui se mouvait sur la terre expira, tant des oiseaux que du bétail, des bêtes et de tous les reptiles qui se traînent sur la terre, et tous les hommes.

V. 24. Et les eaux se maintinrent sur la terre pendant cent cinquante jours.

Gen. viii, 1. Or Dieu se souvint de Noah, et de toutes les bêtes et de tous les animaux qui étaient avec lui dans l'arche. Et Dieu fit passer un vent sur la terre, et les eaux s'arrêtèrent.

V. 2. Car les sources de l'abyme et les bondes des cieux avaient été fermées.

V. 3. Et au bout des cent cinquante jours les eaux diminuèrent.

V. 4. Et au dix-septième jour du septième mois l'arche s'arrêta sur les montagnes d'Ararat.

V. 5. Et les eaux allaient en diminuant de plus en plus jusqu'au dixième mois, et au premier jour du dixième mois* les sommets des montagnes se montrèrent.

V. 13. Et il arriva que l'an six cent-un de l'âge de Noah, au premier jour du premier mois, les eaux se séchèrent de dessus la terre; et Noah ôtant la couverture de l'arche, regarda, et voici la surface de la terre se séchait.

V. 14. Et au vingt-septième jour du second mois, la terre fut sèche.

Voilà le récit Élohistique du déluge. Nous voyons ici de nouveau que l' Élohiste était assujetti à l'influence égyptienne; car il a clairement modelé son déluge sur l'inondation du Nil. C'est surtout l'élément chronologique du récit qui le prouve avec évidence. En supposant que les dates indiquées étaient en effet égyptiennes et conformes aux époques annuelles de l'inondation du Nil, je les rapprocherai des dates de notre calendrier Grégorien pour faciliter la comparaison avec l'année solaire et avec les fêtes périodiques célébrées par les Égyptiens en l'honneur du Nil.

(1) 21 Juin, Grég.=Mois 2, jour 17^{e} de l'année vague des Égyptiens. Commencement du déluge comme celui de la crue du Nil au solstice d'été.

(2) 18 Novembre, Grég.=Mois 7, jour 17^{e}, l'année vague. Après 150 jours, les eaux du déluge ont atteint leur plus grande hauteur et commencent dès lors à décroître. Ce terme correspond probablement à la fête niliaque du 30 Choiak.

(3) 1 Mars, Grég.=Mois 11 (10), jour 1er, l'année vague et fixe. Les sommets des montagnes apparaissent. Nous

* La Septante (Editio Tischendorff, Lipsiæ, 1860) porte: *ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ μηνί*, au *dixième* mois, mais une note donne la variante: *εν δε τω ενδεκατω*, au *onzième* mois. Aussi la traduction copte donne ⲇⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲧ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲁ, au *onzième* mois. (Der Pentateuch koptisch, von Paul de Lagarde.) C'est naturellement la Septante qui a donné au traducteur copte la lecture: au *onzième* mois.

retrouvons ce jour et cette époque du déluge, je pense, dans la fête niliaque du 15 Epiphi.

(4) 5 Mai, Grég.=Mois 1, jour 1er, l'année fixe et vague suivante. "Les eaux du déluge avaient tari sur la terre." Cette date correspond sans doute à la fête niliaque du 15 Thot.

(5) 21 Juin, Grég.=Mois 2, jour 27e de l'année lunaire des Hébreux=Mois 2, jour 17e de l'année vague des Égyptiens. "La terre était complétement sèche" après le déluge.

Quelques explications sont ici nécessaires. Mais avant de les donner, je me permettrai de faire une observation. Pour traiter la chronologie égyptienne il faut tenir compte des trois années différentes: l'année sothiaque avec une durée de 365 jours et 6 heures, l'année solaire de 365 jours 5 heures 48 minutes et 48 secondes, et enfin l'année vague de 365 jours. Le point de départ est l'an 3282 a. J.-C., quand le lever héliaque de Sothis, le solstice d'été et le commencement de la crue du Nil tombèrent sur le même jour, le 20 Juillet du calendrier Julien. À cause de la différence entre l'année sothiaque et l'année solaire, qui était la même que celle existant entre l'année Julienne et l'année Grégorienne, le commencement de l'année solaire et de la crue du Nil tomba dans le douzième siècle, c'est-à-dire, selon moi, pendant le règne de Ramsès II, environ quinze jours avant le lever de Sothis.*

Regardons maintenant les dates du déluge citées par la Bible. Je traiterai chaque date séparément.

1. Le déluge commença au dix-septième jour du second mois. Quelle est cette date? Elle ne cadre pas à l'année des Hébreux, qui commençait alors au printemps.† Le second mois correspondait ainsi avec notre Mai, et nul auteur Hébreu ne pouvait songer à faire commencer le déluge au mois de Mai, qui précisément est le commencement de la saison sèche en Syrie. Il n'est donc pas probable que ce soit l'année des Hébreux dont il s'agit à cet endroit. Au contraire, toute la difficulté tombe avec la supposition, que nous

* Du moins à Thèbes où le lever de Sothis avait lieu quelques jours avant celui observé à Memphis. Cfr. Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter, Einleitung*, p. 216.

† Voyez surtout 2 Samuel xi, 1: "À la fin de l'année, au temps que les rois ont accoutumé d'aller à la guerre," ce que Josèphe a paraphrasé par: "quand le printemps commençait."

avons ici l'année vague des Égyptiens, et que le déluge a été calqué sur l'inondation périodique du Nil. Mais alors il faut bien remarquer une chose. Comme la crue du Nil commençait vers le solstice d'été, c'est-à-dire au commencement de l'année fixe des Égyptiens, cette date du "second mois le 17e jour" ne peut pas appartenir à l'année fixe, mais doit nécessairement être une date de l'année vague des Égyptiens. À la vérité, le 17e jour du second mois de l'année vague correspond ici avec le 1er Thot de l'année fixe. À quelle époque eut lieu cette coïncidence? Le calcul est facile. C'est l'an 1138 a J.-C. (1322 a. J.-C. ÷ (46 × 4) = 1322 a. J.-C. ÷ 184 ans.) Si mon interprétation de notre endroit biblique est juste, nous obtiendrons ainsi le résultat aussi inattendu qu'extrêmement important, que la rédaction définitive du texte Élohistique a eu lieu en l'an 1138 a. J.-C., c'est-à-dire dans la dernière moitié du règne de Ramsès II, résultat qui est d'accord avec ce que nous avons vu plus haut.

2. Le déluge commença "au second mois, au dix-septième jour."* "Et les eaux se maintinrent sur la terre pendant cent cinquante jours."† "Et au bout des cent cinquante jours les eaux diminuèrent."‡ "Et au dix-septième jour du septième mois l'arche s'arrêta sur les montagnes d'Ararat."§

L'intervalle de 150 jours tombe ainsi entre le 17e jour du second mois et le 17e jour du septième mois; les 150 jours sont donc exactement cinq mois, c'est-à-dire, nous avons ici clairement des mois de trente jours. Mais un calendrier dont les mois comptaient trente jours n'étaient d'usage qu'en Égypte; du moins on ne connait aucun autre peuple de l'antiquité qui en eût l'usage. Nous avons ici, je pense, la preuve la plus décisive, que les dates de l'Élohiste sont entièrement égyptiennes.

Mais il est permis, je crois, de reconnaître une autre coïncidence, assez curieuse, dans notre date. Si le 17e jour du second mois coïncide avec le solstice d'été ou le 21 Juin, Grég., le 17e jour du septième mois, cinq mois ou 150 jours plus tard, tombe sur le 18 Novembre, Grég. Or Brugsch a montré, d'après un calendrier à Dendera, que les Égyptiens célébraient une fête nilotique au 30 Choiak.

* Gen. vii, 11.
† Gen. vii, 24.
‡ Gen. viii, 3.
§ Gen. viii, 4.

Le 30 Choiak de l'année sothiaque tomba aux temps ptolémaïques, d'après la réduction de Brugsch, sur le 16 Novembre.* Pendant le règne de Ramsès II le 30 Choiak Sothiaque tomba environ sept jours avant le 16 Novembre, Grég., mais dans le nord de l'Égypte aux environs de Gosen les eaux du Nil tombent quelques jours plus tard qu'en Haute-Égypte, de sorte que les différences se compensent. À la vérité, une fête d'une telle nature a nécessairement dû varier selon les localités. Aujourd'hui au Caire le Nil est tombé jusqu'à la moitié de sa hauteur environ le 10 Novembre, Grég., à peu près cinq mois après le commencement de la crue. Donc, il n'est pas improbable, que le 17^{e} jour du septième mois de la Bible, date qui est cinq mois ou 150 jours postérieure au commencement de la crue du Nil, coïncide avec le 30 Choiak, auquel jour une fête nilotique a été célébrée qui selon sa nature tombait vers le milieu du mois de Novembre, Grég.

3 et 4. Au premier jour du onzième mois† les sommets des montagnes se montrèrent; (Gen. viii, 5) et au premier jour du premier mois de l'année suivante les eaux se séchèrent. (Gen. viii, 13.) Entre ces deux dates, regardées comme égyptiennes, il y avait un intervalle de 65 jours, savoir deux mois à trente jours et cinq jours complémentaires. Je retrouve les deux dates bibliques dans les deux fêtes niliaques, célébrées par les anciens Égyptiens au 15 Epiphi et au 15 Thot, qui également sont séparées par un intervalle de 65 jours, c'est-à-dire deux mois à 30 jours + cinq jours complémentaires. Ces fêtes furent célébrées régulièrement, du moins aux temps des Ramessides, car elles sont mentionnées dans trois différentes inscriptions à Silsilis, qui portent les noms et les dates des rois Ramsès II, Ménephthès et Ramsès III.‡

Nous lisons dans toutes les trois inscriptions la même phrase, qui est assez claire :



* Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 41, 1ère alternative.

† J'adopte la lecture : *onzième* mois au lieu du *dixième* d'après la variante de la Septante et d'après la traduction copte ; voy. plus haut.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 175, 200 et 218.

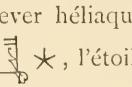
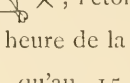
"Offrande due à ce dieu (Hapi, le Nil, consistant) en choses (apportées sur) l'autel au 15 Thot et au 15 Epiphi comme tributs de chaque année."

Brugsch fait observer que ces deux fêtes sont séparées l'une de l'autre par un intervalle de 65 jours, et il pense qu'elles "représentent les jours principaux de la crue du Nil: son commencement et sa hauteur indispensable pour inonder le pays."* Pour ma part je serais tenté de croire que la fête du 15 Epiphi fut célébrée au temps, quand le Nil se trouvait rentré à son plus bas niveau, et que celle du 15 Thot célébra le commencement de la crue. C'est pour le moment une question d'un intérêt secondaire; en tout cas, et c'est ici de la plus haute importance, les deux dates bibliques, le 1er jour du 11e mois et le 1er jour du 1er mois de l'année suivante avec un intervalle de 65 jours correspondent exactement avec les deux dates égyptiennes, le 15 Epiphi et le 15 Thot comme jours des fêtes niliaques.

Mais il y a une autre question qui se présente ici. Le 1er jour du 11e mois et le 1er jour du 1er mois de la Bible, comment peuvent-ils correspondre avec le 15 Epiphi et le 15 Thot? Les deux dates égyptiennes appartenaient, comme Brugsch déjà a remarqué, sans aucun doute à une année fixe. Car quoique les trois inscriptions de Silsilis sont datées de différentes époques et qu'elles embrassent un espace de plus de 120 ans, elles donnent toutes les trois les mêmes dates, le 15 Epiphi et le 15 Thot, pour les deux fêtes niliaque.† Cette année fixe était, je crois, l'année solaire. Et de plus, pour le dire toute suite et sans aucune ambiguïté, je vois ici une indication assez curieuse de ce fait, que l'année sothiaque, comparée avec l'année solaire, aux temps de Ramsès II, était environ quinze jours en retard.

Nous avons vu plus haut que l'an 3282 a. J.-C. le lever héliaque de Sothis et le solstice d'été, sous le degré de Memphis, tombèrent sur le même jour, le 20 Juillet du calendrier Julien. Mais aux temps de Ramsès II les savants avaient, par leurs observations, découvert, que le lever héliaque de Sothis, sous le degré de Thèbes, avait lieu environ quinze jours après le solstice d'été, ou en d'autres mots que le 1er Thot d'un calendrier sothiaque coïncidait avec le 15 Thot d'un calendrier solaire. Les tableaux astronomiques des tom-

* Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 38.
† Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 37.

beaux des Ramessides* nous en donnent la preuve évidente. Ces tableaux donnent pour chaque quinzaine de l'année les apparitions des étoiles à chacune des douze heures de la nuit. Or, sous le 15 Thot nous voyons l'étoile de Sothis apparaître à la douzième, c'est-à-dire à la dernière heure de la nuit, ce qui ne peut pas signifier autre chose que le lever héliaque de Sothis. Dans le tableau du 1er Thot c'est  , l'étoile de Sahu-Orion qui est notée à la douzième et dernière heure de la nuit, on n'y voit pas du tout l'étoile de Sothis; ce n'est qu'au 15 Thot que  , l'étoile de Sothis apparait au ciel du matin avant le soliel, et c'est justement ce qu'on appelle le lever héliaque de Sothis. Quoiqu'il n'y a personne, autant que je sais, qui ait compris ces textes de cette manière, j'ose affirmer que nos tableaux astronomiques sont datés selon l'année solaire, qui est l'année de la nature, l'année qui règle les événements physiques de la terre; nous trouvons ici l'année dont le 1er Thot coïncide avec le solstice d'été et dont le 15 Thot coïncide avec le lever héliaque de Sothis. Je ne veux pas par cela dire que les Égyptiens se soient servis d'un calendrier solaire ou sothiaque; les savants en avaient la connaissance et ils s'en sont servis quelquefois pour noter les événements astronomiques, comme dans nos tableaux, ou les fêtes religieuses, mais d'ailleurs partout ils ont daté les inscriptions selon le calendrier civil et ordinaire avec son année vague de 365 jours.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les tableaux astronomiques prouvent avec évidence, que les prêtres des Ramessides, et probablement aussi ceux de Ramsès II,† avaient observé qui le 1er Thot sothiaque coïncidait avec le 15 Thot solaire et que, par conséquent, le 1er Epiphi sothiaque tombait au 15 Epiphi solaire. Pour fixer l'époque des deux fêtes niliaques dont il est question ici, les prêtres du temps de Ramesès II ont daté l'une du 1er Epiphi sothiaque ou du 15 Epiphi solaire, l'autre du 1er Thot sothiaque ou du 15 Thot solaire, et, à la vérité, nous retrouvons ces dates fixes dans les trois inscriptions à Silsilis des rois Ramsès II, Ménephthès et

* Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 227 et 228.

† Ce fait semble être indiqué par l'arrangement matériel des constellations dans le Ramesseum, où Orion est placé avant Sothis dans le vide singulier entre les mois de Mesori et de Thot. (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 170 et 171; cfr. Lefébure, *le Tombeau de Séti Ier*, 4e part, pl. XXXVI.)

Ramsès III. Les dates de la Bible, le 1er jour du 11e mois et le 1er jour du 1er mois, correspondent exactement au 1er Epiphi et au 1er Thot; car Epiphi est le onzième mois et Thot le premier mois de l'année égyptienne. Je crois donc pouvoir avec quelque vraisemblance identifier les fêtes niliaques du 15 (1er) Epiphi et du 15 (1er) Thot avec les dates données par la Bible, et affirmer, que la première de ces fêtes était la fête des plus basses eaux et la dernière était la fête du commencement de la crue sensible.

Mais je dois ajouter encore une remarque. Quoique les prêtres avaient fixé ces fêtes selon l'année fixe, le peuple les célébrait, comme d'ordinaire, selon l'année civile et vague,* de sorte que, en l'an 1138 a. J.-C., qui était l'an supposé de la rédaction de l'Élohiste, les deux fêtes niliaques étaient deplacées et tombaient 46 jours avant l'événement qu'elles devaient célébrer.

La conclusion est claire : "Le premier jour du onzième mois et le premier jour du premier mois" que la Bible nous donne (Genèse viii, 13) sont des dates purement égyptiennes.

5. "Au vingt-septième jour du second mois, la terre fut sèche." (Gen. viii, 14.)

À cet endroit E. Reuss fait la remarque: "En calculant la période entière d'après les époques indiquées, et en supposant qu'il n'y a pas de faute dans les chiffres, nous obtenons une année et 10 jours. Mais quelle année? Chose curieuse! une année lunaire et 10 jours formeront une année solaire. Serait-ce un indice que le mythe a passé par diverses mains et que le calendrier du déluge aurait été réformé d'après les usages de peuples divers?" † C'est justement le cas ici. L'Élohiste a donné les époques périodiques de l'inondation du Nil pendant toute l'année égyptienne de 365 jours, mais après coup il a remarqué, que cette année était 10 jours plus longue que l'année lunaire des Hébreux, et pour

* Dans *le Décret de Canope*, l. 21, nous lisons: "Pour qu'il n'arrive pas le fait que des fêtes partout en Égypte célébrées en hiver, soient célébrées en été, dans un temps futur, à cause du déplacement du lever de la divine Sothis d'un jour tous les quatre ans, et que d'autres fêtes célébrées en été en ce moment, soient célébrées en hiver en des temps à venir, comme l'événement a eu lieu aux époques anciennes . . . qu'il soit," etc.

† . Reuss, *La Bible, Ancient Testament*, 3e partie, I, 322.

ce motif il a donné le 27^{e} jour du II^{d} mois d'après le calendrier Hébreu, au lieu du 17^{e} jour du second mois d'après le calendrier égyptien.

Nous avons donc ici un nouvel indice de l'influence égyptienne sur le récit de l'Élohiste.

CHRISTIANIA, *le* 13 *Juin*, 1898.

(*Sera continué.*)

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 6th December, 1898, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Dr. HOMMEL: "The Babylonian Ideograph for 'Image,'" with addenda by the Rev. C. J. Ball.

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,, II,	,,	1879–80	2 0	2 6
,, III,	,,	1880–81	4 0	5 0
,, IV,	,,	1881–82	4 0	5 0
,, V,	,,	1882–83	4 0	5 0
,, VI,	,,	1883–84	5 0	6 0
,, VII,	,,	1884–85	5 0	6 0
,, VIII,	,,	1885–86	5 0	6 0
,, IX,	,,	1886–87	2 0 per Part	2 6
,, IX,	Part 7,	1886–87	8 0 ,, ,,	10 6
,, X,	Parts 1 to 7,	1887–88	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, X,	Part 8,	1887–88	7 6 ,, ,,	10 6
,, XI,	Parts 1 to 7,	1888–89	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XI,	Part 8,	1888–89	7 6 ,, ,,	10 6
,, XII,	Parts 1 to 7,	1889–90	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XII,	Part 8,	1889–90	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XIII,	Parts 1 to 7,	1890–91	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XIII,	Part 8,	1890–91	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XIV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1891–92	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XIV,	Part 8,	1891–92	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XV,	Parts 1 to 7,	1892–93	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XV,	Part 8,	1892–93	5 0 ,, ,,	6 0
,, XVI,	Parts 1 to 10,	1893–94	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVII,	Parts 1 to 8	1895	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XVIII,	Parts 1 to 8	1896	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XIX,	Parts 1 to 8	1897	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6
,, XX,	In progress	1898	2 0 ,, ,,	2 6

A few complete sets of the Transactions and Proceedings still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1898.

Seventh Meeting, 6th December, 1898.

JOSEPH POLLARD, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Dr. Wiedemann Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep. Von Max Siebourg. From the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinl.*

From the Author :—Dr. F. Hommel. Hethiter und Skythen und das erste Auftreten der Iranier in der Geschichte. Prag., 1898.

Purchased :—The British Museum ; A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms. With 24 Plates. 1898.

From F. Legge, Esq. :—Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyri Lee et Rollin. By Th. Deveria. Paris. 8vo. 1897.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 10th January, 1899 :—

Rev. Robertus F. Olsen, Hjörundfjord, Norway.

Hope Waddell Hogg, M.A., M.R.A.S., 4, Winchester Road, Oxford.

Henry Beard, 86, FitzJohn's Avenue, N.W.

Rev. W. O. Oesterley, 39, Victoria Street, N.W.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 1st November, 1898 :—

Stanley Arthur Cook, B.A., 60, Rathcoole Avenue, Hornsey, N.

W. T. Granville Lewis, Talbot Chambers, Shrewsbury.

Rev. Colin Campbell, The Manse, Dundee.

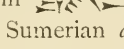
A Paper by Dr. Hommel was read, entitled, "The Babylonian Ideograph for 'Image,'" with addenda by the Rev. C. J. Ball.

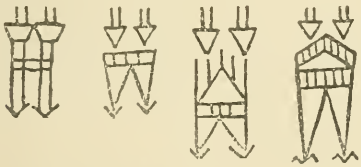
Remarks were added by Dr. Löwy, Mr. Stanley A. Cook, Mr. John Tuckwell, the Rev. C. J. Ball, and the Chairman.

THE BABYLONIAN IDEOGRAM FOR "IMAGE," AND THE SLATE PALETTE FROM HIERACONPOLIS.

By Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel.

Before I continue my "Assyriological Notes," I purpose to give as a special communication the following most remarkable coincidence, which I think to be the very keystone of my several proofs for the Babylonian origin of the Egyptian civilization.

The ideogram  means "statue," "image" (of a god or a king), Sumerian *alan* (borrowed by the Semites as *lânu*) and *alam*, Bab.-Ass. *ṣalmu* (צֶלֶם). It is clear that it is composed of (*i.e.*, twice , "ox, bull") and , the latter the well-known ideogram for *ṣalâlu*, to rest, to sleep (shafel infin. *shuṣlulu*), and *irshu*, couch. The best proof lies in the form of the old Babylonian hieroglyphic signs; comp. the admirable new book of M. Thureau Dangin,* *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture Cuneif.*, "I. Les formes Archaïques." (Paris, 1898.) No. 108 (*alan*, "statue," "image")—



(and *Rev. d'Ass.*, II, p. 147, col. 2: ).

No. 74  (*alpu*, "ox," *i.e.*, the head of the ox, with the two horns, comp. Phœnician  Aleph, Alpha).

No. 148 (*irshu* "couch") (Gudea,  , comp. Amiaud, No. 261).

* I differ from M. Thureau Dangin only in giving the oldest upright form of the signs, instead of the later lying or horizontal form; that "l'écriture verticale" is the original, is also his opinion (comp. his book, p. XI f., against Prof. Delitzsch, whose book, *Die Entstehung, etc.*, is a complete failure in the opinion of all competent scholars).

With the latter may be compared the Egyptian hieroglyph,  . *śdr* (Babyl. *shuṣlulu*), "to lie down,"—a couch in form of a beast, with a corpse on its back, in hieratic writing  ,  .

Another synonym of "couch, seat," is, as was proved by the late P. le Page Renouf, P.S.B.A., XIV, p. 17 ff., the Egyptian hieroglyph  , the holy seat of Horus, or "the frame surmounted by a hawk, upon which the Horus-title of the Egyptian kings was inscribed," varr.  .

The oldest variants are now found in the pre-historic monuments of Abydos and Negadah, comp. Morgan, *Recherches*, Vol. II (Paris, 1897), *e.g.*:—

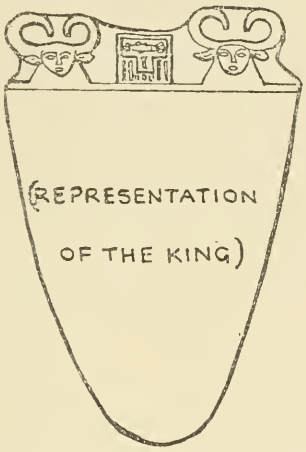
p. 334:  ; p. 235:  ; p. 241:  , the royal name always inscribed in it, and the holy hawk (Horus) sitting upon it, as, for instance,  .

Now it cannot be a chance, that also in the early Babylonian inscriptions, the sign for "couch," *irshu*, WITH A BIRD ( , *iṣṣûru*) UPON IT, means to give a holy name to the king (by a god), or to give a name to a god (by the king), Sumerian *sa*, Bab.-Ass., *nabû*, . originally  .

But this is not all. Our surprise must still increase, if we now return to the strange Babylonian symbol for "statue, image," viz., the same couch or seat, with two ox heads on the top,* and if we

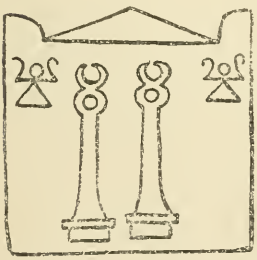
* See above.

compare with it the slate palette from Hieraconpolis, found by Mr. Quibell at el-Kab, which is perhaps the oldest monument ever found on the soil of Ancient Egypt (see *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1898. Plates XII and XIII). This slate palette represents the Pharaoh on the front as king of Lower Egypt and on the back as king of Upper Egypt, and has the following form :



Upon the enclosure of the holy name of the king the hawk is wanting, but instead of it two heads of oxen are placed to the left and to the right, so crowning the whole monument, which was, as the representation shows, destined for an "*image*" of the Pharaoh.

Perhaps we may also compare the Hebrew ark with the two cherubs above it (Ex. xxv, 18). This ark too is connected with the *holy name* of the Lord (2 Sam., vi, 2). Also the well-known cippus of Carthage (see the woodcut), with the two holy columns, may have a relation to it ; and so also the two ox heads* on a monument of South Arabia in the Berlin Museum (*Mitth. aus den Oriental. Sammlungen der kgl. Museen*, Heft VII ; Himyar. Inschriften, Berlin, 1893. Plate IV, No. 1), and perhaps the name



* In the midst two palm trees, at the right and left the head of a bull ; compare 1 Kings vi, 29 (cherubim and palm trees), and Ezek. xli, 18.

(or title?) of a Sabæan official (or priest?) דהתורנהן (*dhû thaurân-hân*, *i.e.*, the man with (or over?) the two oxen).

In recapitulation of my discovery, it seems to be without all doubt (1) that for the very origin of the Babylonian script a holy bird (of course the symbol of a god) sitting on a couch (the place of rest, perhaps the grave), represented the holy "name" of the king; and (2) that two ox heads (of course also a mythological symbol) placed on the same couch meant the "image" of a king or a god; and (3) that exactly the same two ideas or mythological conceptions are found with the old Egyptians at the cradle of their civilization.

If one remembers the proofs I gave for the identity of the genealogies of the Babylonian and Egyptian gods in the *Transactions of the London Congress of Orientalists* (Heavenly Ocean, Bab., Nun or Anum, Eg., Nun or Tum; Air, Bab., In-lilla, Eg., Shu; Earth, Bab., En-ki, Eg., Keb or Seb; his wife, Bab., "great consort of Nun," Eg., Nu-t; then the four children of the Earth-god, Bab., Merodach,  , Eg., Osiris,  ; his wife Istar, Eg., Isis: Bab., Nirgal, the hostile brother of Merodach, Eg., Set, the hostile brother of Osiris; his wife  , *i.e.*, a *house* with the inscribed phonetic indicator *gha*, Eg., Nephthys, written with the sign of the *house* with the subscribed sign *neb-t*, "lady"; and lastly, the son of Merodach, Nabû, as the god of Dilmun,* written with the bird and the couch, comp. W.A.I. II, 54, 74=Brünnow, No. 2291, Eg., Horus, son of Osiris, the god of the hawk, who sits upon the couch), and if he now considers the identity of the Babylonian and Egyptian representations of the "holy name" and the "image," then he *must* concede the common origin of the Babylonian and Egyptian civilization, unless he is a professional sceptic; such scepticism, however, is the death of all scientific progress.

In conclusion I should like to remark that I now have found out too, the explanation of a sign which hitherto nobody was able to explain, viz.:  , to form, to make; image, likeness. (Sum. *gim*, Semit. *banû*, *kima*, etc.)

* In Eastern *Arabia*; comp. Wiedemann, in Morgan's *Recherches*, II, 226 f. and the rôle which plays Magan in the oldest Babylonian inscriptions.

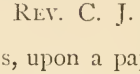
If we compare the sign for "man" (viz., the bust of a man),  , it is quite clear that *gim* meant originally a CASTING MOULD, to "form" the statue of a man, comp.  , of which results the intended  . At the same time we see by it the high stage of civilization even in the earliest time of the Babylonian history; for already the oldest inscriptions furnish several instances of the use of the sign *gim* "to form," "to make like."

Munich, 16*th November*, 1898.

BABYLONIAN HIEROGLYPHICS.

By Rev. C. J. Ball.

(The following remarks, upon a paper which I had the honour to read and elucidate at the last meeting of the Society, are not made in any spirit of carping or contentious criticism. My learned friend is far more competent to discuss such questions than I am; and every unprejudiced mind must welcome his theories and discoveries in this difficult sphere of research.)

The sound of the compound character  is given by the Syllabary (S. 378), where we find the phonetic addition a-la-am, that is, *alam*. The other pronounciation is inferred from the fact that in the inscriptions of Gudea (A, III, 2, for instance) the character has the phonetic addition, *-na*, implying for the whole group the sound *alanna*. This inference is also made probable by the Semitic word la-a-nu (*lânu*), appearance, aspect, form, image, which occurs in other texts as the equivalent of the character, and by the well-known fact that final *m* and *n* interchange in Sumerian, just as they do in Chinese.

Neglecting the Sumerian preformative *a*, as not belonging to the root, we may at once point out that in Chinese 臉 *lien*, *lim* or *lym*, face, countenance, agrees very well with the Babylonian terms both in sound and meaning. Moreover, the ancient form of the phonetic with which it is written, viz.,  presents some likeness to the old Babylonian hieroglyphic forms of the character for "image."

There are also the words 覽 *lan*, *lam*, to look at, and 兩 *liang*, *löng*, two, both, a pair, double; a term which generally indicates some likeness or relationship. The old forms of the latter  may perhaps have some connexion with those of the Babylonian character. Returning to the con-

sideration of these, we may note the material variations which they present in the different inscriptions; variations which make it a matter of great uncertainty to determine the original figure from which all have more or less diverged. Exactly the same difficulty occurs in dealing with the old Chinese characters. Parts of an ideogram, which have become obscure in the lapse of time, are altered so as to suggest something else. In the present instance, there can be little doubt that the second element is the character for couch, bed, to lie down, etc. In GUDEA'S writing the top of this character is so modified as to suggest the character  KU, AZAG, splendid, precious (Amiaud, No. 260). Now there can be no question that in Prof. Hommel's three middle forms we seem to have the character  GUD, GU, the Chinese *ngau*, *ngiu*, *ngu* (Japanese *giu*), ox, repeated. But if we may trust the evidence of Amiaud (see De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*), the horizontal line of the triangle, completing the outline of the ox's head, is never supplied in the inscriptions of GUDEA, where we usually find  The third of these middle forms is, therefore, incorrect in this respect. And when we compare Professor Hommel's first and last forms of the character with  the form of it in GUDEA, A, col. III, 2, our earnest desire that his brilliant speculation may prove to be well founded, must not be allowed to blind us to the difficulties which we hope he may succeed in clearing away. My own interest in the hypothesis of the Babylonian origin of the Egyptian language and writing is too well-known to need any further remark here.

Instead of the heads of oxen, GUDEA'S forms, especially the one referred to above, suggest the knees ( ;  Amiaud, No. 190); so that if in this instance GUDEA'S writing be, as is possible, the most trustworthy representative of the linear script, the true analysis of the Babylonian character for "image" will be *knees* + *couch*. When we recall the appearance of the seated statues of GUDEA, and the Egyptian kings, in which the knees are so prominent, we may be inclined to think that the Babylonian character for "image" has been simplified by omission of the upper portion of the original hieroglyph

(head, trunk, arms, etc.), only the prominent feature of the knees and the front of the couch or throne-bed being retained. At any rate this would seem to have been the notion of the scribes of Gudea's time.

But further, inasmuch as there is considerable likeness between the character for "sun," "bright," "pure," "shining," viz.,  (Amiaud, No. 212), and the knee character, it is not impossible that the latter has been substituted for the former in Gudea's writing. In that case, the analysis of the image-character will be LAĜ + NA, *bright couch*, or splendid throne-bed (the apparatus for sitting and reclining is not as strictly differentiated in the East as it is with ourselves); and it is worthy of notice that the writing becomes phonetic, after the Chinese fashion: la(ĝ)na = *lan*.

The Sumerian word NA, NADDA, bed, to lie down, resembles the Japanese *nedai*, couch, *ne-ru*, to lie down, sleep, *ne-doko*, bed, *ne-bō*, sleepy-head, etc.

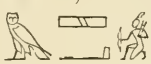
I cannot see that the Egyptian lion-bier, with the corpse on it, which as an ideogram is read *sḏr*, to be at night, to rest, has anything to do with the Babylonian character for "image."

Professor Hommel's next comparison, that of the Egyptian hieroglyph of the sacred hawk (Ḥar, Horus), standing on a frame, on which the Horus-title of the king was inscribed, which he identifies with the old Babylonian ideogram for SA, to name, is certainly a very remarkable one. It is perhaps no objection to it that SA is not restricted to the uses which he mentions, but signifies to name in general; *e.g.*, MU SA.A is *mala shuma nabû*, "whatever bears a name," *i.e.*, every existing thing. There is, however, no trace of inscription, nor any suggestion of such a thing, in connexion with the Babylonian character. It is simply a couch with a bird upon it.

I conclude for the present with the remark that Professor Hommel's explanation of the character GIM, DIM, is not only highly ingenious, but in my opinion unquestionably correct.

ON THE READING OF  .

By F. Ll. Griffith.

On p. 14 of "*Hieroglyphs*," I have quoted instances from Old Kingdom texts in which  can hardly be *mš'* (*meshȧ*), and have concluded that the value *šs* (*shes*)—discovered by Brugsch and Piehl—is invariable. This, however, cannot be so. In the New Kingdom (Mar., *D. et B.*, V)  *mš'* (*meshȧ*), is, to all appearance, a word actually varying with  : a fact not noticed in the dictionaries and that had escaped my attention.

Perhaps the conflict of evidence can best be reconciled as follows. The  is the trained soldier, opposed to  , the sound-bodied youth in training. The former would be named and read *šś'* (*shesa*), "trained;" hence is derived the word-sign value of  , *šs* (*shes*) for  in late texts. The common title  must be read *mr šś'* (*shesa*), "captain of soldiers;" (Brugsch, *Wtb. Suppl.*, 1203; *Dict. Géog.*, 874–5). The value *šś'w* is likewise to be assigned whenever  means "soldiers." A marching host might be made up of either *šś'w* or *nfrw* (see "*Hieroglyphs*," *l.c.*), but the *šś'w* would naturally predominate, and hence *meshȧ* "marching host," "army," "expedition," is often written  .

In course of time, the use of the word *meshȧ* became much widened. In Coptic we find ⲙⲁϩϥ, ⲙⲁϩϩⲉ, used of a "multitude" of words, etc., and with the intermediate meaning "crowd," multitude of people." In *Exodus* viii, 1, it occurs in the sense of *populus*, a sense in which the demotic group corresponding to  seems to be used in a papyrus which I hope shortly to publish.

I.—PURIM. II.—TOPHET. III.—ZOBAH. IV.—MISPAH.

By G. A. Simcox.

I.

The subscription of the Greek Book of Esther is very much more instructive than credible. It gives us the earliest date and the highest authority which the Synagogue of Alexandria could dare to assign for the feast of Purim which they kept. According to the subscription, Dositheus, who called himself a priest and Levite, *i.e.*, a Levitical priest (as is well known, the title was not obsolete in Palestine whenever the Book of Chronicles was written (II Chron. xxiii, 18); we still find the Levitical priesthood, Heb. vii, 5), brought the translation of the letter of Purim, which he guaranteed had been made by Lysimachus in Jerusalem in the fourth year of the government of Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra. It is generally agreed that the Ptolemaeus in question is Philometor; but his fourth year is, as it happens, a rather uncertain term; he was deposed and restored more than once. We cannot reckon from his first accession in 181 B.C., for he was not married then, and our writer reckons by a joint reign. He probably married in 168 B.C.; reckoning from then we come to 165 B.C., the year of the purification of the Temple, or B.C. 164, that of the death of Antiochus Epipanes. After this he was deposed once more, and went to Rome in 164, to secure a final restoration; the fourth year from that should bring us to 161 (the year of the death of Nicanor), or 160 (the year of the death of Alcimus). The writer almost seems to imagine that the letter of Purim had newly arrived at Jerusalem, when Dositheus and his son Ptolemaeus were there; they apparently knew no Hebrew, and were dependent upon Lysimachus for a translation. If he had recollected that the original Hebrew purported to be written under Xerxes, or at latest, according to the text, enlarged in LXX, under Artaxerxes Ochus, he might have taken for granted that Esther, like the other books, was translated early in the Ptolemaïc period at Alexandria. But this hypothesis was excluded, because he thought he knew that the Jews at Alexandria began to keep the feast, at earliest in the

fourth year of Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra. Now "the letter of Purim," which Dositheus brought, is plainly "the same" as one that came to Jerusalem. The question arises whether the feast of Purim actually passed from Babylonia to Judæa at or about the date which the writer assigns. As is well known, the writer of the First Book of Maccabees records the institution of Nicanor's day without reference to Purim; while the writer of the Second tell us that it was to be observed before "Mordecai's day," and the canonical book of Esther explains at length why the fifteenth day of Adar was the great holiday in "Shushan," while in the country parts it was the fourteenth. The Greek book of Esther is of course much later than 164 B.C.: that Haman appears as a Macedonian traitor, proves of itself that the Jews of Babylonia were no longer under Greek dominion; this brings us down to 127 B.C., the death of Antiochus Sidetes at the very earliest, and that is probably too early; for Sidetes, though he checked the growing ambition of the Maccabees to renew a Jewish state, was, like Antiochus the Great, a patron of the Jewish church. It might almost seem as if one lesson of the canonical book of Esther was that Israel might carry self-defence against persecution very far compatibly with devoted loyalty to the head of a heathen empire. Mordecai is the saviour of Ahasuerus. Jonathan, when recognised as High Priest, after more than seven years of conflict, rendered important services to Alexander Balas and to Demetrius II and to Antiochus VI. John Hyrcanus, after his enforced surrender of Jerusalem to Antiochus Sidetes, rejoiced to know, by revelation, the victory of his sons in the service of Syria. In the Greek version (as distinguished from the Greek additions) Artaxerxes in the letter in which he authorises the Jews to stand for their lives, also grants them the use of their own laws. We might almost imagine the Jews of Babylon were persuaded that the Maccabees were only exerting the privilege granted by an indefeasible charter—under the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. Neither Lagarde's theory that the festival was originally Persian, nor Jensen's, that it was originally Babylonic, explains why the Jews should have adopted it. The least unlikely reason is that the Jews in Shushan really had a wonderful deliverance, when the festival came round. The lists of the returned exiles in Ezra and Nehemiah are headed in both places with the same twelve names, possibly lovers of the nation, by whom at different times more or fewer of the banished were brought home.

Among these we find the name of Mordecai, and the fragmentary record in Ezra (iv, 6) mentions a letter against the Jews in the reign of Ahasuerus. Supposing that the Babylonian feast originally commemorated a victory of Merodach and Istar, a god and goddess of Babylon, over Humbaba (Haman) and Vashti, a god and goddess of Elam, the legend must have been well on the way to be misunderstood in the days of Xerxes. We can hardly tell how old the temple legend of Hierapolis, which has reached us among the works of Lucian, was when it came to be written down in Greek; there Humbaba (who figures as a tyrannical conqueror in the Zodiac legend in Assurbanipal's library) appears under the name of Kombabos as a romantically devoted courtier, who receiving a commission to wait on the Queen of Seleucus, when building a temple, made himself an eunuch to avoid appearance of evil (Esther vii, 8). If the legend had become a mere popular tale in the days of Xerxes, and if the Babylonish and the Persian festivals fell at the same time, it is quite possible that in the days of the Maccabees the Jews may have confounded the names of both. Certainly the name of the festival in LXX and Josephus is more easily explained from the Persian than from the Babylonian. Lastly, we may notice that the letter of Purim has not the authority of the High Priest and Elders and the congregation of Jerusalem, which is claimed for at least the second of the opening letters in II Maccabees, though we might expect this if the writer supposed that in the fourth year of Philometor the Jews of Jerusalem wished to see a well-established festival of their own taken up in Alexandria. In fact, the authorities of the second Temple were against the celebration at first; we hear of 85 Elders, including 30 prophets, who made mock of it. In the First Book of Maccabees, which says nothing of Mordecai's day, we read that a celebration of Nicanor's day was established by public authority. Assuming that the oldest part of the book up to xiv, 15 was written some time after Simon's death (xiii, 30), we might ask whether the feast of Purim was established in Palestine, before the profanation of the Temple by Pompeius and its plunder by Crassus turned the eyes of a section of puritan nationalists to Parthia.

II.

We read that Josiah defiled Tophet (II Kings xxiii, 10). Here, and in Jeremiah (vii, 31 and xix, 14), the word is associated with the sacrifices of children. In Is. xxx, 33 there is a description of a

pyre kindled by the breath of the Lord, with the parenthetic remark, a gloss according to Duhm and Cheyne, "that too is for the king," or "is that too for the king?" *i.e.*, the king of Assyria. The gloss would, if so, be due to a reader who was familiar with some solemn burning that had to do with kings. Robertson Smith, "Religion of Semites," 353, *sqq.*, thinks of the burning in effigy of a royal theanthropic victim; "burnings" were an important part of the funeral solemnities of the Kings of Judah, though their bodies were buried. In the ritual of the Levitical sin offering, burning "without the camp" had a large place; and this had to be done in a clean place. If Robertson Smith is right in deriving the Levitical sin offering from the "old piacular holocaust," the priests, the sons of Zadok, must have had a place for burning without the gate. As early as Hosea, another theory of the sin offering had become familiar, the penitent brought a sacrifice, of which he was not worthy to eat, so the priests ate the sacrificer's share of the sacrifice, and burnt the priest's share on the altar in the court of the house. Hence, supposing that "Tophet," which (like "Molech") has the vowels of "Bosheth," was originally the place for burning "without the camp," it may from the time of Ahaz, the first King of Judah to make his son pass through the fire, have been used increasingly, at last all but exclusively, for the rites of "Molech." Supposing it was never used but for those rites, we should be almost forced to believe that they were immemorial.

III

We read, II Sam. viii, 10, Hadadezer (King of Zobah) had wars with Toi (King of Hamath). This certainly authentic notice is the foundation for the common assumption that Zobah lay north of Damascus, probably between Damascus and the Euphrates; but this is, as Winckler points out, highly improbable, if Saul (I Sam. xiv, 47) fought against the kings of Zobah. As the Philistines, or their fast friends, held Bethshan to the end of Saul's reign, he cannot have gone fighting to the north of Damascus. In the time of Ahab, the King of Israel hoped at most to meet and beat the King of Syria in Aphek, a little north of the Yarmuk. On the other hand, Saul began by delivering Jabesh Gilead from Ammon; and his Ammonite war may have led to a Syrian war like David's. We may infer from the name Kenath, that the Kenites had a settlement near the Hauran, though we meet them first in the region of the Exodus. According

to Chronicles, the Syrians who came to the help of the Ammonites from Maacah, Tob, Zoba, and Damascus mustered at Medeba, not far north of Arnon. According to II Sam. viii. the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Zobah after the first defeat. All this looks as if we ought to seek Zobah, as Winckler proposes, in the neighbourhood of the Hauran. If we are to imagine the Syrians of Zobah half nomadic, with summer and winter pastures many leagues apart, over which the greater part of their hordes ranged slowly, as the Anazeh move now, from the Upper Euphrates as far as Nejd—they might easily come into conflict with Toi, though their city or cities, where a few of their great men had permanent houses, may have been in the Hauran, the next point beyond Ammon, to which a king of Israel would come if he set out "to establish his border" by the Euphrates.*

IV.

In Genesis xxxii, 52 we seem to learn that the heap of stones, and the tall stone set upright somewhere upon Mount Gilead, were regarded as the boundary between Israel and Aram. We do not know for certain where it was, except that it was to the north of the Jabbok. It is very remarkable indeed that neither in the story of Jacob's journey to Padan-Aram and back, nor anywhere else in the Old Testament, do we find any mention of the Yarmuk. Now it is clear that no point in the range of Gilead could determine the boundary between the kingdom of Damascus and the kingdom of Samaria. Bashan lay to the east of Gilead, and upon the whole was more desirable; and Israel certainly for a long time enjoyed it. If the theory that the place where Laban and Jacob parted as friends, was the boundary between Israel and Aram, had grown up in the course of the Syrian war, the legend could easily have provided another fixed point, by making Jacob return so many days' journey, with his father-in-law, to such and such a place, which would mark

* If Meyer, "Enstehung des Judenthums," be right in thinking both Rehum and Simshai's letter and Artaxerxes' reply strictly authentic, we should certainly be warranted in believing that the royal archives of Jerusalem which passed, with more valuable booty, into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, and thence into the archives of Persia, really bore out the statements of our First Book of Kings; and, in fact, it would be very strange that the promise to Abraham and his seed of such a wide dominion, should have been recorded and transmitted and repeated by prophets in the Exile, and it may be by scribes afterwards, if it had never been fulfilled.

the eastern extremity of the line whose western limit was marked by Mispah, Gilead, or Jegar Sahadutha. On the other hand, before the wars of Saul and David a cairn and a menhir anywhere on the ridge of Gilead, would be a sufficient boundary between Israel and the little kingdoms of Geshur and Maacah, very possibly the only part of Aram with which Israel was in familiar contact; for Tob, where we find Syrians in force in the time of David, appears as a sort of no man's land in the time of Jephthah, and the episode of Cushan Rishathaim, whatever we think of it, certainly did not last long, or leave many traces.

CONTRIBUTIONS AU DICTIONNAIRE HIÉROGLYPHIQUE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

Deuxième article.

§ 7. Longue série de mots relevés dans les textes des pyramides, pour lesquels l'explication proposée par l'éditeur de ces textes doit être écartée ou modifiée; § 8. Vocables empruntés au Papyrus Ebers, et que BRUGSCH a mal rendus dans son grand Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique.

§ 7. Dans les derniers temps, j'ai, plusieurs fois,* eu l'occasion de relever—en partie et surtout à propos de l'*Index* † que M. SCHACK a commencé à dresser des vocables contenus dans les textes des pyramides—la nécessité qu'il y aurait à faire une revision des traductions et explications proposées par l'éditeur de ces textes pour une masse de mots ancien-égyptiens. A cet égard, j'ai toujours avancé—et je maintiens constamment cette affirmation—que, la plupart du temps, il faut accepter les vues énoncées par BRUGSCH dans son Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique, ouvrage qui, à mon sens, donne la clef de l'explication—à peu d'exceptions près—de tous les vocables non-mythologiques que renferment les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqârah.

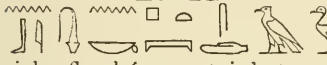
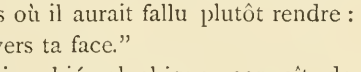
A présent, je compte reprendre le fil de mes allégations quant à cette matière, dans l'espoir de pouvoir amener l'auteur de l'*Index zu den Pyramidentexten* à modifier, dans la suite de son ouvrage, sa manière de traduire différents vocables hiéroglyphiques.

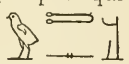
A la série des modifications déjà introduites je joins la liste suivante, embrassant des vocables mal expliqués ou détournés de leur sens véritable par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides:

* *Proceedings*, XV, page 36 et pages 249–256. *Sphinx*, I, pages 65–67 et II, pages 137–140. *Proceedings*, XVII, pages 254–263.

† *Sphinx*, II, pages 225–230.

a.  (*Pepi II*, ligne 971) a été rendu "le dieu OUTOU HOTEPIT qui commande l'offrande." * Des textes d'époque plus récente montrent que nous avons à faire ici à un dieu HETOU HOTEP, qui, avec la déesse TAÂT (*Pepi II*, l. 326), préside à la fabrication des bandelettes sacrées. Effaçons donc le prétendu dieu OUTOU HOTEPIT.†

b.  se voit, *Pepi II*, ligne 969, dans l'expression  , ce qui a été rendu "le ciel a flambé pour toi, la terre a *eu peur* de toi." ‡ Je pense que la description qui se fait dans ce passage est purement physique. C'est pourquoi "avoir peur" est à remplacer par "trembler, se secouer." La même signification est à introduire pour *seṭ* de *Pepi II*, ligne 320, où il y a ceci :  , ce qui doit se traduire selon l'éditeur : "je te lève l'ŒIL d'Hor en bonne santé vers ta face," § mais où il aurait fallu plutôt rendre : "Pour toi l'œil d'Hor sain oscille vers ta face."

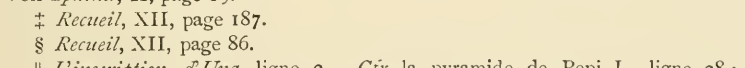
c. Le vocabulaire hiéroglyphique connaît deux groupes qui présentent une certaine ressemblance entre eux, à savoir  et  . L'éditeur des textes des pyramides confond perpétuellement ces deux groupes, dont le premier, déterminé par un chevalet ou étai (originairement servant de support au fléau de la balance), signifie "soulever, lever, hausser," etc., tandis que le second se traduit plutôt "mettre, arranger, serrer," etc. *Cfr.* à ce sujet la locution  ,‖ "serrer autour de

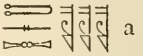
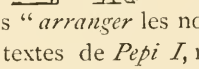
* *Recueil*, XII, page 187.

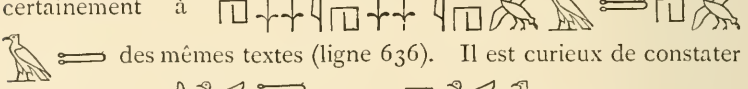
† C'est le même dieu que, à Edfou [ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, page 53], M. MASPERO a cru retrouver sous la forme que voici *Anch-hotep*. Voir *Sphinx*, II, page 89.

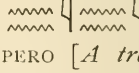
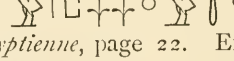
‡ *Recueil*, XII, page 187.

§ *Recueil*, XII, page 86.

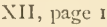
‖ *L'inscription d'Una*, ligne 2. *Cfr.* la pyramide de Pepi I, ligne 28 :  , ce qui, suivant l'éditeur des dits textes, signifie : "Isis la grande qui *porte la pique* (! !) dans Akhit."

la taille la ceinture (en fixant le nœud de la ceinture  "). Pour un passage, comme celui-ci [*Pepi II*, ligne 974] :  il ne faut pas traduire : "*fourni* comme un dieu, SOULEVANT ses os comme Osiris," * mais plutôt "*rendu entier* comme un dieu, RASSEMBLANT EN UN TOUT ses os, à l'instar d'Osiris." † A cette occasion, on peut citer les nombreux exemples qui se voient sur les sarcophages ou coffres funéraires, où l'action exprimée par  a pour variantes les locutions  et  .—Cela dit, [*Ounas*, ligne 579] ne se traduit pas "Celui qui LÈVE l'échelle c'est Ra pour Osiris,"‖ mais plutôt : "Ra est celui qui MET (ou arrange) l'échelle *devant* Osiris." De même,  ne signifie pas "*porter* les nœuds de corde," mais "*arranger* les nœuds."

d. Aux textes de *Pepi I*, nous rencontrons (ligne 199) l'expression suivante :  qui équivaut certainement à  des mêmes textes (ligne 636). Il est curieux de constater l'équivalence  avec  , preuve concluante en faveur de la valeur de son voyelle de la lettre  .

Il est intéressant de rapprocher du susdit  , le groupe au duel  que M. MASPERO [*A travers la vocalisation égyptienne*, page 22. Extr. du *Recueil*, XVIII] a cru rencontrer dans *Merenra* (ligne 593), *Pepi I* (ligne 473), et *Pepi II*

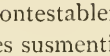
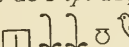
* *Recueil*, XII, page 188.

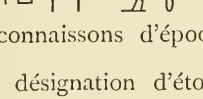
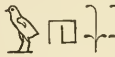
† Le mot  ne signifie pas "fournir," mais "rendre complet, compléter" de  "tout, entier," dont il est une dérivation [*Proceedings*, XIII, p. 366].

‡ PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Première Série. Pl. LII.

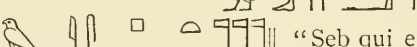
§ PIEHL, *l.l.*, Pl. LXXXV.

‖ *Recueil*, IV, page 71.

(ligne 1118), et qu'il prétend "dérivé comme tous les duels féminins de la terminaison ordinaire du singulier  OUHANENOUIT." Le groupe en question est incontestablement une faute, due à une mauvaise lecture des passages susmentionnés de *Merenra* et de *Pepi II*, la version de *Pepi I* autorisant absolument la lecture  , c'est-à-dire, le duel de  .

Nous connaissons d'époque récente* un mot  , désignation d'étoile qui est sans doute la même que  et varr. des pyramides. Effaçons toujours la forme impossible  .

e. Le groupe  se traduit, en général, "parmi, au milieu de, entre, dans," par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides. Mais il faut faire remarquer que le dit groupe est originairement un substantif "front,"† comme p. ex. Unas. ligne 37, où il est dit, au sujet des deux yeux d'Horus,  , ce qui ne signifie point "*tu les a pris en toi*"‡ [car alors la suite de la traduction "et ils éclairent ta face" n'a pas de sens commun], mais plutôt "tu les as tirés vers ton front," etc.

Du substantif  , on a formé un nom d'agent en  ,  , varr.  § "celui qui affronte, le chef, le supérieur," qui se voit, p. ex. *Pepi I*, ligne 166,  "Seb qui est prince

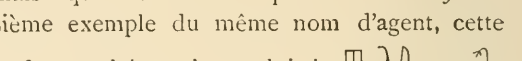
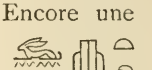
* DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, page 508.

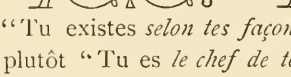
† On peut-être, dans certains cas, "tête," attendu qu'il a pour variante la tête de veau  .

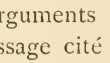
‡ *Recueil*, III, page 184.

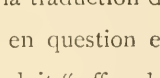
§ Comme on voit, je partage ici une opinion émise par M. MASPERO (*A travers la vocalisation égyptienne*, page 26. Ext. du *Recueil*, XVIII], concernan la façon dont *s'écrit* quelquefois la désinence dans les pyramides.

‖ *Recueil*, V, page 183: "SIB prince des dieux, OSIRIS qui est PARMI les puissances, HOR maître des hommes et des dieux." Le parallélisme des membres montre l'inexactitude de cette explication.

des dieux, Osiris qui est le chef des puissances, Horus qui est le maître des hommes et des dieux." Le dit nom d'agent se rencontre également dans la *qualification* (d'Osiris et d'Anubis)  qui (*Recueil*, III, page 188) a été rendue "*dans* l'Amenti," mais qui se traduit plutôt "le *chef* de l'Amenti." Un troisième exemple du même nom d'agent, cette fois reproduit dans la forme pleine, c'est celui-ci  (Pepi I, ligne 200) ce qui ne signifie pas "qui est *au* pays du Midi," mais plutôt "celui *qui domine* le pays du Midi." Encore une preuve de ce mot se voit *Pepi I*, ligne 106, où il y a  , ce qui ne signifie point "Tu existes *selon tes façons d'être*, tu parles à tes suivants,"* mais plutôt "Tu es *le chef de tes devanciers*, tu donnes des ordres à tes suivants."

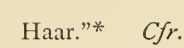
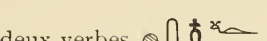
Du substantif  simple dérive régulièrement la préposition  "à la tête de, dans le front de," quelquefois (par ellipse) écrit  . J'avoue d'ailleurs ne pas avoir noté de cas où, dans les textes des pyramides, la traduction "parmi, dans" soit exigée pour cette particule, quoique ce sens soit logiquement admissible.

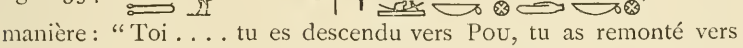
f.  "Verser un pain long et un vase de liqueur." (*Recueil*, XII, page 90). En 1889 [*Observations sur plusieurs signes et groupes hiéroglyphiques*, § 1, dans les Actes du Congrès de Stockholm], j'ai, à propos des *textes d'Ounas*, combattu l'explication "Jeter un gâteau et une mesure de boisson," et mes arguments d'alors suffisent à écarter la traduction donnée pour le passage cité de *Pepi II.* Le groupe en question est donc un mot entier qui se lit  *āb* et se traduit "offrande."

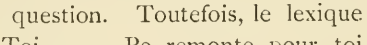
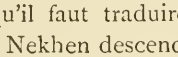
g.  (déterminé par une tresse), *Teta*, ligne 352, a été expliqué "barbe" par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides, bien que Brugsch, il y a longtemps, ait définitivement prouvé le sens

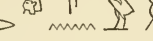
* *Recueil*, V, page 174.

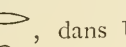
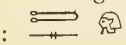
"lockiges Haar."* *Cfr.* LEFÉBURE dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1893, page 114.

h. Les deux verbes  se traduisent communément, le premier "remonter" [litt. "aller contre"] le Nil, le second "descendre" le Nil. Le traducteur des inscriptions des pyramides soutient l'avis opposé, de sorte qu'il a rendu *Teta*, ligne 354 :  , de cette manière : "Toi . . . . tu es descendu vers POU, tu as remonté vers NEKHEN," traduction qui tient parfaitement compte de la position géographique des deux villes en question. Toutefois, le lexique prouve qu'il faut traduire ici : "Toi . . . . . Pe remonte pour toi le fleuve, Nekhen descend pour toi le fleuve."

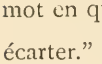
i.  , mot fréquent, signifiant "couronne," a été *coupé en deux* "mettre couronne." *Cfr. Pepi I*, ligne 426, où il y a  ce qui a été expliqué (*Recueil*, VII, page 165) de la sorte "mettent leur guirlandes sur leur tête, mettent leur guirlande sur leur cou."

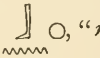
k.  , dans Unas, 423 :   , traduit (*Recueil*, IV, page 48) ainsi "il a élevé sa tête sur son sceptre  , et le sceptre d'Ounas lui sert de protection." Je préfère traduire de la sorte : "il a mis sa tête sur son cou, et le cou d'Ounas est sur sa base."†

Brugsch, qui (*Wörterbuch*, I, page 277) a expliqué  comme équivalent à "Halssäule, die Wirbelsäule am Halse, Hals," retracte plus tard (V, page 341) cette explication absolument incontestable. Le sens "cou" pour notre mot est d'ailleurs prouvé par CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, II, page 622 :  .

* Voir PIEHL, *Petites Études Egyptologiques*, page 14, note 20. La correction de  en  est inutile, les textes des pyramides nous ayant fourni un verbe *χemā*, "saisir, empoigner." Voir la suite de ce mémoire.

† Pour le sens du groupe  , voir *Sphinx*, II, pages 49, 50.

l.  (*Pepi II*, ligne 398, dans la phrase ) a été rendu "donner," traduction impossible, le mot en question étant une forme du frequent  , "chasser, écarter." Le susdit passage, au lieu de devoir se traduire (*Recueil*, XII, page 85) "il (l'œil d'Horus) te donne tes humeurs,"* signifie simplement "il *chasse* tes humeurs." *Cfr. Teta*, ligne 60:   "Ils écartent la faim du ventre de Teta."

m.  a été expliqué, au point de vue étymologique,† en ces termes-ci: "Le mot  a pour premier déterminatif ○, un petit rond, qui plus tard s'est confondu avec le soleil. C'est une forme en  prothétique de la racine  , "*rond*, *boule*, comme verbe *rouler*, *se mettre en boule*, *marcher en rond*." Cette explication de l'étymologie de *uben* est absolument inadmissible, et manque d'ailleurs tout-à-fait d'assiette de méthode. Pour trouver l'étymologie d'un mot égyptien, il ne suffit pas d'en prendre le déterminatif pour conseil. Il faut avant tout jeter un coup d'œil sur l'ensemble des parents du mot en question. En suivant ce procédé, recommandé par les maîtres de la linguistique comparée, il est facile de donner une explication exacte du sens de  , explication qui évidemment sera différente de celle de M. Maspero. Les dérivés les plus fréquents de la racine *uben* sont, en dehors de  :  ;  ;  sans déterminatif. En admettant comme origine de tous ces groupes une racine ayant le sens de "poindre, courir, couler," on a sans doute la clef de l'énigme. En voici des preuves:—

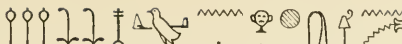
1.  "Qu'on lui apporte un faisceau lors de la manifestation (*quand point la lumière!*) de la lumière zodiacale,§ chaque matin."

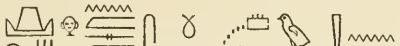
* Ce passage a été traduit par deux fois de la même manière. Voir encore *Recueil*, XII, page 87.

† *Recueil*, XII, page 153, note 1.

‡ Pieht, dans le *Recueil*, IV, pages 121, 122.

§ Brugsch, dans les *Proceedings*, XV, pages 231–236.

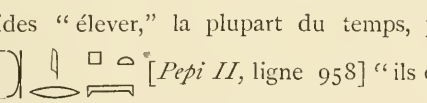
2.  * "Ce sont les matières blanches et magnifiques que je jette sur le feu qui point de son autel."

3.  † "Les greniers débordent, de l'orge brille (point !) sur les murailles."‡

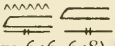
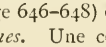
4.  "Les hommes courent devant toi," et tu leur lances des plaies.§

Pour tous ces exemples le sens "poindre," admis par nous comme l'originaire de la racine *uben*, fournit une explication plausible—la *plaie* est p. ex. une chose *qui point*, *qui coule*—mais je ne sais nullement comment arriver à un résultat satisfaisant, en admettant comme point de départ des étymologies le sens, prétendu originaire, de "rouler." Il est bien à craindre que, une fois admis, ce sens ne risque de vous *rouler*.

D'après ces remarques, le soleil appelé  est censé *poindre*, *surgir*. En effet, le verbe  est employé, dans les textes, pour désigner ce que fait le soleil "chaque matin."

n.  le groupe, dont le sens "enlever" d'accord avec Brugsch, a été établi par nous‖ à l'encontre de l'explication "gonfler, enfler" de M. Loret, a été traduit par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides "élever," la plupart du temps, p. ex. dans  [*Pepi II*, ligne 958] "ils élèvent Pepi au ciel;"

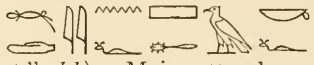
* De Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, page 114.

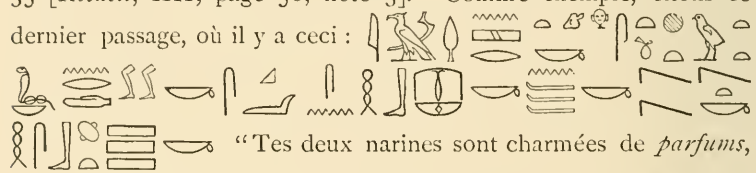
† Piehl, dans le *Recueil*, I, page 199. Cet article, écrit en 1879, contient la réfutation de la lecture  proposée par M. Maspero [*Zeitschrift*, 1879, page 58] pour le groupe  , dont l'existence a été prouvé par nous. Brugsch (*Wörterbuch*, VI, page 646–648) en 1880, a emprunté tous mes exemples en faveur de la lecture *nemesmes*. Une coïncidence bizarre c'est que, de même que j'ai (*l.l.*) spécialement examiné le préformatif  à propos du mot *nemesmes*, Brugsch l'a fait aussi sous le même vocable du Supplément de son Dictionnaire.

‡ C'est là ma traduction de 1879.

§ Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, V, page 309: "Du schleuderst ihnen das *Erbrechen* (!) entgegen."

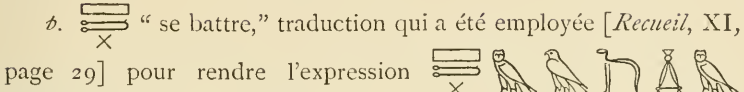
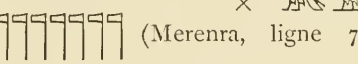
‖ *Proceedings* XII, pp. 374–379 et 433–437.

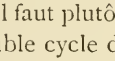
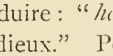
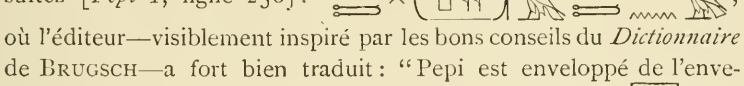
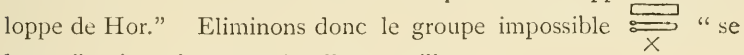
ce qui, en admettant l'exactitude de la traduction "élever" pour notre mot, nous amenerait à traduire  (Unas 493) de la sorte "ils l'élèvent à *Tat*," ce qui est logiquement impossible, la localité *Tat* étant souterraine, et par conséquent uniquement accessible *à celui qui descend.* Dernièrement [*Recueil*, XIV, page 132] le sens "pratiquer" a été admis pour *Pepi II*, ligne 1145, dans l'expression  ("On lui a pratiqué son emmaillottement" *l.l.*). Mais cette phrase signifie simplement: "On lui a enlevé son enveloppe."

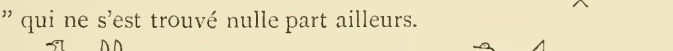
o.  "uræus," mot jusqu'ici absolument inconnu, a été découvert par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides pour les passages *Pepi II*, ligne 971 [*Recueil*, XII, page 187] et *Pepi II*, ligne 35 [*Recueil*, XII, page 58, note 3]. Comme exemple, citons ce dernier passage, où il y a ceci :  "Tes deux narines sont charmées de *parfums*, les uræus de tes deux jambes (!) frappent (la terre "pour marcher"), tu es en fête par tes dents, et tes doigts (*litt.* "tes ongles") supputent," etc. Pour ma part, je préfère traduire cette phrase égyptienne ainsi : "Ton nez est charmé des odeurs des produits de l'uræus, etc. Le  de est suspect. En tout cas, on ne peut parler "des uræus des deux jambes," car l'uræus n'a rien de commun avec les jambes, selon les textes. Mon explication adoptée, l'expression citée devient intelligible. On comprend que les "dents sont en fête" et "les doigts (*litt.* "les griffes" !) font des calcules" à cause des *biens*  de l'uræus, mais on ne comprendrait pas la même satisfaction à propos des "parfums" *qui ne se mangent pas.* Il faut donc effacer  "uræus"*

* Voici le passage *Pepi II*, ligne 971 :  , traduit ainsi par M. Maspero : "Le parfum de l'uræus monte vers Pepi," où "uræus" correspond visiblement à  .

et le remplacer par  "uræus,' mot connu de longue date.

b.  "se battre," traduction qui a été employée [*Recueil*, XI, page 29] pour rendre l'expression  (Merenra, ligne 780) "il se bat comme Horus, muni du double cycle des dieux" selon l'éditeur. Mais il faut plutôt traduire : "*habillé* comme Horus, *enveloppé* comme le double cycle des dieux." Pour cette dernière explication consultez [*Pepi I*, ligne 256] :  , où l'éditeur—visiblement inspiré par les bons conseils du *Dictionnaire* de BRUGSCH—a fort bien traduit : "Pepi est enveloppé de l'enveloppe de Hor." Eliminons donc le groupe impossible  "se battre," qui ne s'est trouvé nulle part ailleurs.

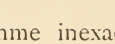
q.  , verbe fréquent, synonyme de  , se traduit en général "entrer, descendre" par tout le monde. Construit avec la préposition  , *haī* désigne le but auquel on est arrivé en entrant ou descendant. *Cfr.* p. ex.  [*Merenra*, 450], "Tu descends en cette barque de Ra où les dieux aiment à s'installer, où ils aiment à descendre" ;  "Ils descend dans la nuit," * etc.

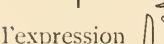
Dans ces circonstances,  [*Pepi II*, ligne 857], ne peut nullement signifier, comme le veut M. MASPERO," † "Pepi DESCEND DE son siège," mais uniquement le contraire de cette explication : "Pepi s'installe sur sa chaise." ‡

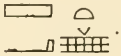
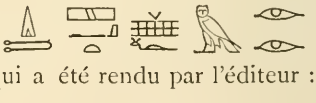
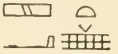
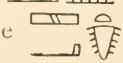
* DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, p. 35.

† *Recueil*, XII, page 170.

‡ Quiconque réfléchit que la traduction des textes des pyramides a déjà formé et formera la base d'un système de mythologie, nous accordera sans doute qu'il n'est pas indifférent à la VÉRITÉ de ce système si les mots à traduire sont rendus exactement ou d'une manière purement fantaisiste. Très souvent cette dernière manière de traduire est celle de l'éditeur de ces textes, ce dont nous avons fourni des preuves irréfutables dans les *Proceedings* [XVII, page 262–263]. Peut-on aller plus loin dans ce sens qu'en avançant *le contraire* de ce contiennent les textes.

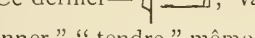
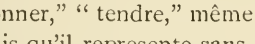
Notons donc comme inexacte la locution  "descendre de."

r.  "les rives" [*Pepi II*, ligne 1152 dans l'expression "les rives du ciel"]. Brugsch nous a habitué à voir dans ce groupe une désignation de "Land, Landgebiet," l'expression étant rendue par lui "die beiden Länder" (Ober-und Unter-Aegypten). Le français "parage, contrée, pays," est peut-être le meilleur équivalent du groupe en question. Même, l'existence du terme  ne peut nullement modifier notre acception. Le titre fréquent du dieu Schou  * ne signifie certainement pas "celui qui est sur la rive," mais "celui qui est sur (ou : *au-dessus de*) la terre."

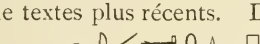
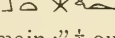
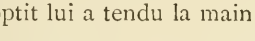
s.  . Ce mot, excessivement fréquent aux textes des pyramides, a été rendu par l'éditeur de ceux-là "charme, livre," justement comme si le déterminatif qui l'accompagne représentait le *rouleau du papyrus*. Mais ce dernier s'écrit d'une toute autre manière dans ces textes. A mon sens, le déterminatif en question est la forme archaïque de  de textes plus récents. Le groupe cité est donc, à mon avis, une variante de  [BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, VII, page 1169] "Schnitt, Messer." C'est ainsi que le passage *Pepi II*, ligne 316 :  , qui a été rendu par l'éditeur : "qu'il soit *enchanté* contre les deux yeux de tous les Lumineux qui le voient," † se retrouve dans une inscription des basses époques sous cette forme-ci :  , ‡ ce qui signifie : "Elle accorde que ton *tranchant* soit dans les deux yeux des lumineux qui te voient." Eliminons donc le vocable inexact  "charme, livre," et notons-le comme une variante de  .

* MARIETTE, *Dénderah*, II, 59. † *Recueil*, XII, page 86.
‡ DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, Pl. IV, ligne 11.

t. Les textes des pyramides semblent renfermer sous la forme , deux mots distincts. L'un équivaut au mot * de textes plus récents, l'autre est sans doute une faute pour .

Ce dernier—  , var.  —a été le plus souvent rendu "donner," "tendre," même "montrer," par l'éditeur de ces textes, tandis qu'il represente sans doute la forme archaïque du signe  *īā* de textes plus récents. Des expressions, comme celle-ci [*Pepi II*, ligne 1242]  , traduite [*Recueil*, XIV, p. 139] "Soptit lui a tendu la main ;" † ou comme celle-ci  [*Pepi II*, ligne 1316] traduite [*Recueil*, XIV, page 146] "T'a donné ton bras" ‡—se rapprochent fort bien du passage suivant emprunté à un texte des basses époques  § "celui qui lave les mains et nettoie les doigts."

Toujours est-il qu'il faut abandonner pour  les sens "donner, tendre, montrer," etc.

u.  *ut'*, se voit très souvent dans la locution  "émettre des paroles," "décréter," comme tout le monde est d'accord pour la rendre. Cela étant, il est inadmissible de traduire, comme cela a été fait bien des fois [p. ex. *Recueil*, V, p. 41, *Recueil*, XII, pages 161, 170],  *ut'*, seul "ordonner." Exemples : *Pepi II*, ligne 1856, il est dit : "Pepi vit de ce dont vit Hor et  *de ce* qu'émet Hor" [non pas : "de ce qu'*ordonne* Hor," comme l'éditeur a traduit]. Au point de vue mythologique, les *écoulements d'Hor* et *les ordonnances d'Hor* sont évidemment deux choses bien distinctes. *Teta*, ligne 290 :  ne peut donc signifier "selon l'*ordre* que t'a fait ton père Seb," mais uniquement "—("les froments"... et "les orges"....) de la *création*

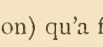
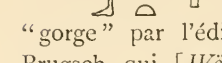
* Pour cette forme, voir *Proceedings*, XVII, page 261.

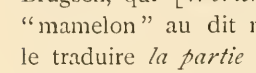
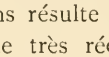
† Nous préférons traduire : "Sothis lui a lavé la main," ce qui est parallèle la phrase qui suit, "l'étoile du matin a fait la toilette à Pepi."

‡ Je traduit ici : "T'a lavé ton bras."

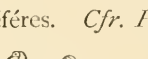
§ BÉNÉDITE, *Le Temple de Philæ*, page 109.

(*litt.* l'émission) qu'a faite pour toi ton pére Seb." Ce sens est fort à propos, Seb, le dieu-terre, produisant les blés.

w.  . Ce groupe, qui se voit *Teta*, ligne 26, a été rendu "gorge" par l'éditeur. Cette explication diffère de celle de Brugsch, qui [*Wörterbuch*, II, page 380] a conféré le sens de "mamelon" au dit mot égyptien. Selon mon expérience, il faut le traduire *la partie extérieure de la poitrine, tout au-dessous de la gorge.* Ce sens résulte avec évidence de nombre de passages de textes d'époque très récente, où certain collier est dit être mis  "pour parer la poitrine" d'une personne.*

Cela étant, il est impossible d'admettre pour la phrase [*l.l.*]  le sens, (déesse) "qui est dans la gorge de Ra," qu'a recommandé l'éditeur du texte en question. Cela équivaudrait presque à dire que Ra serait en train d'avaler la dite déesse, tandis que le vrai sens du passage ("qui est SUR la poitrine de Ra," PIEHL) fait de la déesse un ornement extérieur du cou du dieu solaire. Sous ce rapport, *àrt bānt* est à considérer comme un pendant de  "bracelet," groupe fréquent sur des coffres funéraires datant du Moyen Empire.

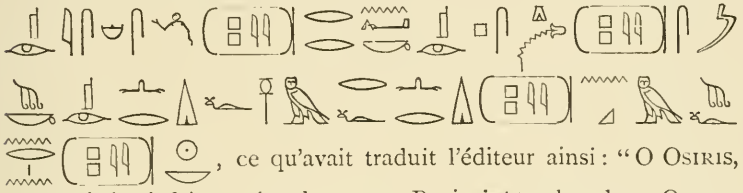
Cet exemple, comme on voit, est en outre très instructif pour les conclusions absurdes auxquelles, sur le domaine de la mythologie, on peut arriver par une explication inexacte de l'original égyptien.

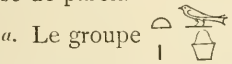
x.  [*Teta*, ligne 175] a été rendu [*Recueil*, V, page 20] "Terre ordonnateur de la terre" dans une phrase à allitération jouant sur les mots  et  . Mais il faut traduire simplement "la terre sainte" et considérer le signe qui termine le groupe, comme *déterminatif.* En effet, l'Ancien Empire compte parmi ses déterminatifs préféres. *Cfr. Pepi I*, ligne 323 :  ; *Unas*, ligne 282 :  ; *Unas*, ligne 255 :  ; MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 343 :  , etc., etc.

y.  [*Pepi II*, ligne 951] a été expliqué comme

* ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, page 134.

si c'était une soudure de *deux* mots différents, *sem* "guide" et *ut* (?) "les deux uræus,"* bien qu'il ne représente en réalité qu'un seul groupe *semutâ*, "les deux uræus," connu depuis longtemps, grâce à Brugsch [*Wörterbuch*, VII, page 1057.) *Cfr.* Piehl, *Second Série*, Planche XIV, ligne 5 :  .

z.  Ce groupe se rencontre [*Pepi II*, ligne 959, *bis*] dans deux expressions presque identiques, qui cependant ont été rendues de manières différentes par l'éditeur.† En voici un spécimen:  , ce qu'avait traduit l'éditeur ainsi : "O Osiris, car Pepi s'assied à ton épaule, et que Pepi *oint* ta chevelure, Osiris, il ne met pas sa souffrance, Pepi ne met pas *sa tresse de barbe* à la bouche de Pepi, chaque jour." Mon interprétation de ce passage est celle-ci : "O Osiris, quand Pepi est assis à ton épaule et que Pepi *crache*‡ sur ta chevelure, il ne permet pas qu'il soit souffrant, § il ne permet pas qu'il soit atteint (?) de la bouche de Pepi, jamais."‖ En comparant entre elles les deux traductions, on trouve de suite que la notre est la plus vraisemblable. Selon celle-ci la salive qu'a crachée le défunt est un préservatif contre souffrance et maladie. Le parallélisme des membres montre que est synonyme de  . Il ne peut donc pas signifier "tresse de barbe," mais se traduit plutôt "être atteint de souffrance, de maladie" ou quelque chose de pareil.

a. Le groupe  *ta-ur* a été rendu "libation" [*Recueil*, XII, page 148 et *passim*]. Mais c'est là une expression composée

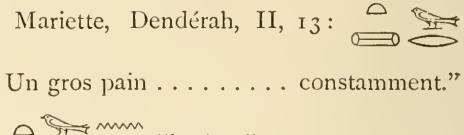
* *Recueil*, XII, page 183.

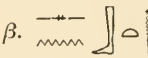
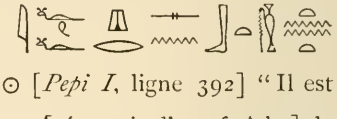
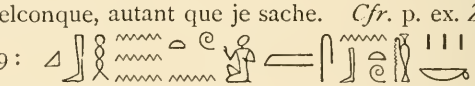
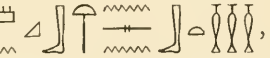
† *Recueil*, XII, page 185.

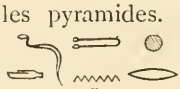
‡ *Proceedings*, XV, page 250, 251.

§ Ou peut-être "*qu'elle* soit souffrante," c'est-à-dire *la chevelure.*

‖ Ceci est un des passages où l'éditeur a appliqué le procédé mathématique d'une façon très malheureuse, dans sa traduction, car ne peut *jamais* se rendre "ne pas" . . . . . chaque jour," mais *doit* absolument se traduire "ne jamais."

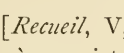
de "gros pain" et de "de l'eau." Pour ce premier groupe, consulter p. ex. Mariette, Dendérah, II, 13:  "Un gros pain . . . . . constamment." Eliminons donc le groupe  libation."

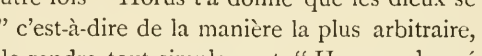
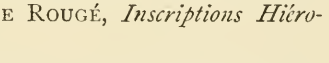
β.  dans l'expression:  [*Pepi I*, ligne 392] "Il est sous cette *liqueur fortifiante* du QOBHOU [réservoir d'eau fraîche] de Ra qui purifie la terre du midi devant Ra" [*Recueil*, VII, page 160]. Je préfère traduire ici: "Il porte cette urne du Kebhu de Ra, qui purifie," etc., *senbet* signifiant toujours une espèce de vase, jamais une liqueur quelconque, autant que je sache. *Cfr.* p. ex. *Zeitschrift*, 1880, page 49:  "Je me rafraîchis à l'aide de tes cruches." Dans un autre endroit [*Pepi I*, ligne 351], l'éditeur des textes des pyramides à rendu *senbet* "forteresse," sens également impossible. C'est dans l'expression  , qui a été traduit [*Recueil*, VII, page 157] "les pavillons des forteresses," mais qui signifie plutôt "le dépôt des cruches."

γ. Les deux prépositions  et  qui sont bien distinctes, quant à leur emploi, pour d'autres époques, se reconnaissent de la même façon dans les pyramides. Une phrase comme celle-ci [*Pepi II*, ligne 659]  ne peut signifier "dites *sous* Ra" [*Recueil*, XII, page 143], mais uniquement: "dites auprès de (à?) Ra." De même,  ne signifie aucunement "il se met *vers* ta fille aînée," mais se rend uniquement: "il se place *sous* ta fille aînée." = "chez, auprès de," = "sous," c'est là une règle connue de longue date qu'ignore visiblement l'editeur des textes des pyramides.

δ.  dieu qui [*Recueil*, XII, page 189] a été lu *Rourouti*, avec la traduction "le portier" entre parenthèses.

L'éditeur l'a donc rapproché du mot  . Mais ce rapprochement est impossible, attendu qu'il y a, pour le mot, [*Teta*, ligne 322] une variante  ; celui-ci a été rendu "les deux lions" [*Recueil*, V, page 37]. Ni l'une ni l'autre des explications fournies à ce sujet n'est exacte. Il faut lire *Ruti* et traduire "celui qui a la tête de deux lions." [*Cfr.* LE PAGE RENOUF dans les *Proceedings*, XIV, page 271.] Ce sont probablement des mots de cette espèce qui ont provoqué la formation adjective en *-ti** qui originairement est due à un duel mal expliqué et compris.

ε.  et varr., groupe qui été traduit "rassembler," "s'humilier" (!), une fois même "saisir" [*Recueil*, V, page 9] par l'éditeur de ces textes. C'est le sens "saisir, empoigner" qu'il faut introduire partout, comme dans  [*Pepi II*, ligne 39 et ligne 234] ce qui a été traduit une fois "Hor a donné que tu *humiliasses* les dieux" [*Recueil*, XII, page 59, note 2], une autre fois "Horus t'a donné que les dieux se *rassemblent* pour toi (†)," c'est-à-dire de la manière la plus arbitraire, tandis qu'il aurait fallu le rendre tout simplement "Horus a donné que tu saisisses les dieux." [*Cfr.* DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, XXIX, ligne 4.]

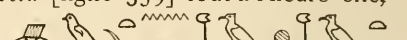
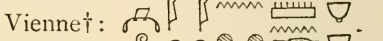
ζ.  "frapper," sens, jusqu'ici inconnu,‡ que l'editeur a admis pour [*Pepi II*, ligne 400]:  "quand tu as *frappé* L'ŒIL D'HOR, il est *sain sous* toi" [*Recueil*, XII, page 85], passage qui plus tard [*Recueil*, XII, page 87] a été rendu "quand tu as *grandi*, L'ŒIL D'HOR est sain *sous* toi." Les nombreux cas que nous connaissons pour  dans le sens de "croitre, pousser" rendent cette dernière signification indispensable dans le présent cas, comme aussi pour *Teta*, ligne 359 

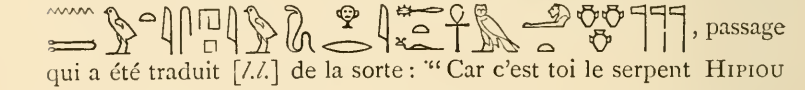
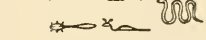
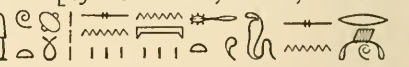
* PIEHL, *Petites Études Égyptologiques*, pages 40-42.

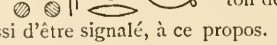
† *Recueil*, XII, page 80.

‡ M. MASPERO, semblant embrasser la théorie que l'époque de l'origine de la mythologie égyptienne a été un *bellum omnium inter omnes*, "frapper" devient pour lui une signification indispensable dans bien des cas où le texte ne contient rien de semblable. *Cfr.* p. ex. ci-dessus  "se battre."

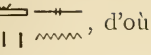
 "celle qui est garnie des deux plumes, celle qui a les mamelles pendantes" [*Recueil*, V, page 56], où je préfère traduire la fin de la sorte : "celle qui a le sein rebondi." Effaçons toujours  "frapper."*

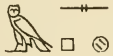
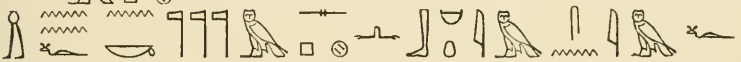
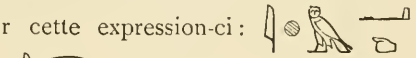
η. A propos du passage de *Teta* [ligne 359] tout-à-l'heure cité, on peut noter *Pepi I*, ligne 602 :  où l'éditeur a traduit ainsi : à la large HANCHE, aux mamelles ballantes." J'ignore d'où M. MASPERO a eu le sens "hanche" pour le groupe  qui correspond à  de *Teta*. Peut-être ces deux groupes sont-ils simplement des formes d'un même mot—celui donné par Brugsch [*Wörterbuch*, VI, page 537] sous la physionomie que voici  "Backe, Wange" (tempe?). *Cfr.* la version donnée, pour notre expression, par *le sarcophage de Panehemisis* de Vienne† :  . Evitons toujours le mot jusqu'ici inconnu  "hanche."

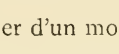
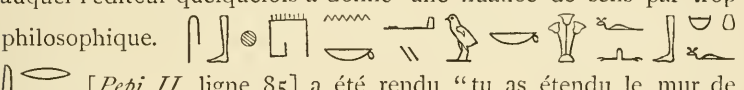
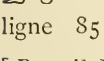
θ. "Le serpent Hipiou" est dit [*Recueil*, V, page 42] être mentionné dans le passage de *Teta* [ligne 293] que voici :  , passage qui a été traduit [*l.l.*] de la sorte : "'Car c'est toi le serpent HIPIOU [rampeur] sur son ventre, qui se nourrit des cœurs des dieux." Brugsch nous enseignant [*Wörterbuch*, VI, page 834] que  — plutôt que *serpent* — signifie *ver*, "Wurm, Gewürm," il faut employer ce sens pour le passage cité, acception qui convient mieux au contexte, la thèse que les cœurs des dieux sont mangés par des vers, et non pas par des serpents, paraissant conforme à la médecine égyptienne. [*Cfr.* d'ailleurs, PIEHL, *Seconde Série*, Pl. LXV, ligne 3 : 

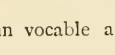
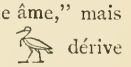
* *Pepi II*, ligne 708 :  "ton destin *s'affaiblit*" [*Recueil*, XII, page 154] mérite aussi d'être signalé, à ce propos. Je préfère traduire ici : "ton destin (?) prospère," c'est-à-dire exactement le contraire de la traduction MASPERO.

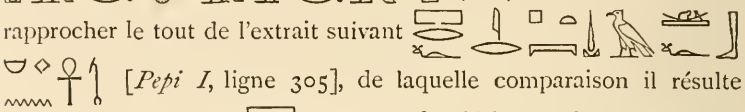
† VON BERGMANN, *Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis I*, page 9.

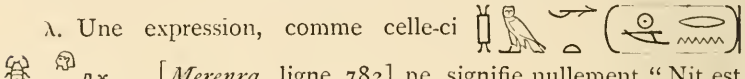
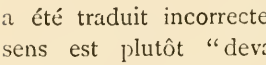
 , d'où il résulte que les *ḥer-ẋet-sen* mangeaient les bandelettes des morts]. Traduisons donc dorénavant "le *ver* Hipou."

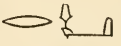
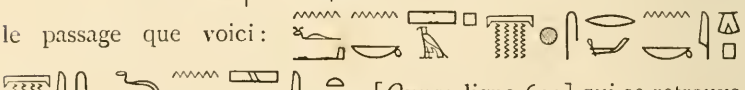
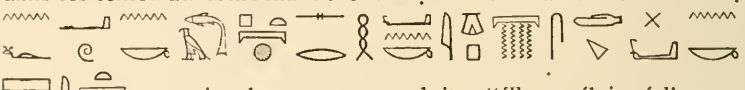
ι.  a été traduit "tour à tour" pour le passage suivant  [*Pepi II*, ligne 64] qui se voit rendu [*Recueil*, XII, page 60] de cette manière: "Il t'a amené tous les dieux tour à tour, dont la substance n'est pas avec lui"; mais que je préfère rendre ainsi: "Il t'a amené tous les dieux *en une fois*, sans qu'ils s'éloignent de lui" en m'appuyant en partie sur cette expression-ci:  "Hor a saisi pour toi les dieux sans qu'ils t'abandonnent" [litt.: "montent au-dessus de toi"].

κ. Maintenant, nous venons de parler d'un mot qui joue un rôle marquant dans les textes des pyramides. J'entends le mot  , auquel l'éditeur quelquefois a donné une nuance de sens par trop philosophique.  [*Pepi II*, ligne 85] a été rendu "tu as étendu le mur de tes bras derrière lui, dont *la substance* n'est pas pour toi" [*Recueil*, V, page 38]. La clause finale de cette expression me semble plutôt signifier: "il ne s'écarte pas de toi." Le sens du verbe  paraît être "monter, se lever,"* etc. Ainsi, *Pepi II*, ligne 851:  , qui [*Recueil*, XII, page 169] a été rendu "Ton [corps de] fer au ciel sur ton siège de fer," signifie, selon nous, plutôt: "Tu montes au

* En d'autres termes, je vois en  un vocable apparenté à  , ce dernier ne signifiant pas, comme le veut M. MASPERO, "avoir une âme," mais simplement "monter" [*Sphinx*, I, page 227]. Le mot "âme"  dérive régulièrement du verbe  , et signifie littéralement "celui qui se lève." Pour cette explication, je renvoie à la scène si fréquents où l'on voit l'âme, sous forme d'oiseau, quitter le lit funèbre où repose la momie du défunt. *Pour les égyptiens l'âme était réllement un oiseau.*

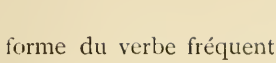
ciel sur ton siège de fer." La suite du passage cité étant celle-ci :  , on peut fort bien rapprocher le tout de l'extrait suivant  [*Pepi I*, ligne 305], de laquelle comparaison il résulte que *bà*, de même que  , est un verbe désignant du mouvement.

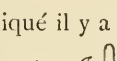
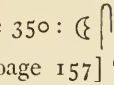
λ. Une expression, comme celle-ci  [*Merenra*, ligne 782] ne signifie nullement "Nit est derrière M., Solkit sur ses deux mains" [*Recueil*, XI, page 29], mais plutôt, "Neit est derrière M., Serket est en avant de lui." A ce sujet, il faut corriger un grand nombre de passages où  a été traduit incorrectement "sur les deux mains," mais où le sens est plutôt "devant, en avant de." *Pepi I*, ligne 5 :  ne peut se rendre "Tes adorations sont *sur* tes mains" [*Recueil*, page 160], mais uniquement : "Tes adorateurs sont devant toi." De même, *Recueil*, XII, page 62 : "qui sont sur les mains de l'Etoile du Matin," *Recueil*, XII, page 137 : "il est le suivant de Ra, qui est sur les deux mains de l'Etoile du Matin," etc., sont à rectifier. Du dit il résulte que  "devant, en avant de" est l'antithèse de  "derrière."

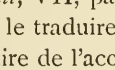
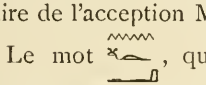
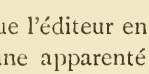
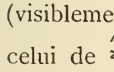
μ. Le groupe  a été rendu "lancer" dans le passage que voici :  [*Ounas*, ligne 609] qui se retrouve dans les textes du tombeau de *Chāemḥāt** sous la forme suivante :  , ce qui, selon nous se traduit : "Tu as éloigné l'orage, tu as chassé les nuages, tu as percé le mauvais temps." [Maspero, *Recueil*, IV, page 75 : "tu a soufflé l'orage, tu as lancé la tempête, tu a projeté la grèle"]. Comme on voit, le groupe étudié est une

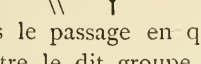
* Loret, dans les Mémoires de la mission du Caire, I, page 127.

forme du verbe fréquent var.  , que Brugsch a expliqué il y a 30 ans.*

Pepi I, ligne 350 :  a été rendu [*Recueil*, VII, page 157] "il a lancé l'ouragan," bien qu'il eût fallu plutôt le traduire "il a chassé (= écarté) l'ouragan"—c'est-à-dire le contraire de l'acception MASPERO.

r. Le mot  , que nous venons de citer dans l'exemple, emprunté à *Ounas*, ligne 609, et que l'éditeur en a traduit "souffler" (visiblement parce qu'il croit à une apparenté entre ce groupe et celui de  "vent," "souffle"), signifie plutôt "éloigner," d'après le passage en question.† GOODWIN nous a d'ailleurs fait connaître le dit groupe, qu'il a relevé dans le papyrus No. 1 de Berlin. La traduction "stagger" proposé pour cet endroit par le grand savant anglais nous semble devoir s'abandonner en faveur de celle de "s'éloigner, courir," ou quelque chose de pareil.

ẖ.  a été rendu "courant" pour le passage de *Teta* (ligne 33) que voici :  [*Recueil*, V, page 7 : "C'est Teti, le courant qui sort de l'urne."] Comme j'ai montré ailleurs,‡  est à regarder comme *un verbum substativum*, composé des deux membres, , et  dont chacun en état indépendant signifie "être."§

o.  , mot connu de longue date, se traduit communément "rugir, rugissement." M. MASPERO préfère le traduire "provisions." Cette traduction, il l'a proposée d'abord à propos de son explication de la stèle *C* 3 du Louvre,‖ et après il l'a aussi introduite dans ses traductions¶ des textes des pyramides [p. ex. pour *Ounas*, ligne 235].

* BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, III, page 1131.

† *Zeitschrift*, 1872, page 33.

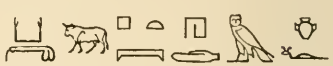
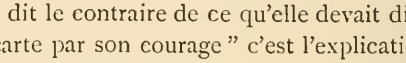
‡ PIEHL, dans *Sphinx*, II, fasc. 4, page 197 et suiv.

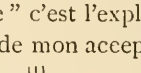
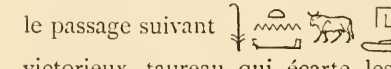
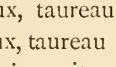
§ Le passage cité signifie donc, selon moi, "C'est Teta qui sort de l'urne."

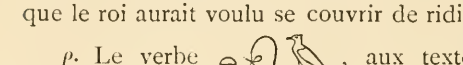
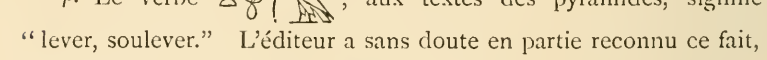
‖ *Études Égyptiennes*, I, page 123. Dans mes *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Prem. Série, II, pages 3-5, j'ai montré la nullité de l'explication fournie par M. MASPERO de *la stèle C 3 du Louvre*.

¶ *Pépi I*, 304, le groupe en question a été rendu "défiler" ; j'ignore pourquoi.

Personne n'admettant du reste le sens "provisions" pour  , il faut en rester à l'ancienne acception.

π.  , verbe connu de longue date, a été traduit "se tenir à l'écart" dans *Ounas*, ligne 505 :  ["le taureau du ciel, qui se tient à l'écart," * *Recueil*, IV, page 59]. Mais cette traduction dit le contraire de ce qu'elle devait dire. "Le taureau du ciel qui écarte par son courage" c'est l'explication que je soutiens pour le passage cité. En faveur de mon acception, j'allègue le passage suivant  , † ce qui signifie "roi victorieux, taureau qui écarte les taureaux." Traduire ici, "roi victorieux, taureau qui *se tient à l'écart* des taureaux," serait admettre que le roi aurait voulu se couvrir de ridicule.

ρ. Le verbe  , aux textes des pyramides, signifie "lever, soulever." L'éditeur a sans doute en partie reconnu ce fait, ce qui pourtant ne l'empêche nullement de traduire *Pepi II*, ligne 71 :  de la sorte : "Ra t'adore à l'horizon [*Recueil*, XII, page 62]. Néanmoins, "adorer" se dit à cette époque  .

Les deux autres cas où, pour ces textes, j'ai noté le mot en question, sont les suivants : *Teta*, ligne 361 :  [*Recueil*, V, page 56 : "Ra te supporte ta face de son épaule,"] et *Teta*, ligne 365 :  [*l.l.*, page 56 : "Ra se lève sur toi dans l'horizon"].

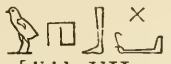
Ces deux derniers exemples sont plutôt à rendre l'un : "Ra soulève ta face sur son épaule," et l'autre : "Ra soulève ta face dans l'horizon." Le rapprochement de ces deux expressions nous fournit une équation très intéressante au point de vue mythologique, et qui jusqu'ici était restée inaperçue, j'entends celle de l'horizon avec *l'épaule de Ra*.

* Cette traduction de pour le passage cité se voit reproduite Maspero, *Études de myth. et d'arch. ég.*, I, page 157.

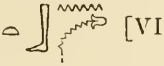
† *Stèle de Pianchi*, ligne 72.

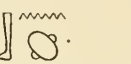
Voilà donc une longue série de vocables pour lesquels, selon moi, il faut modifier ou corriger l'acception soutenue par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides.

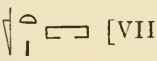
§ 8. Le supplément du *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique* de Brugsch a inexactement reproduit une petite série de vocables rencontrés au *Papyrus Ebers*. Les voici :—

a.  [V, page 324], plutôt à lire  [*ibid.*, VII, page 1327.]

b.  [V, page 324], plutôt à lire  .

c.  [VII, page 1317], plutôt à lire  .

d.  [VI, page 1317], plutôt à lire  .

e.  [VII, page 1269], "der Umkreis" einer Stadt," plutôt à lire  "laboratoire."

Je n'ai guère besoin d'expliquer les raisons de ces corrections, l'homme du métier sachant les trouver de lui-même.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 10th January, 1899, at 8 p.m., when the usual business will be transacted.

Note by the President, on a new Babylonian Chronological Tablet.



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